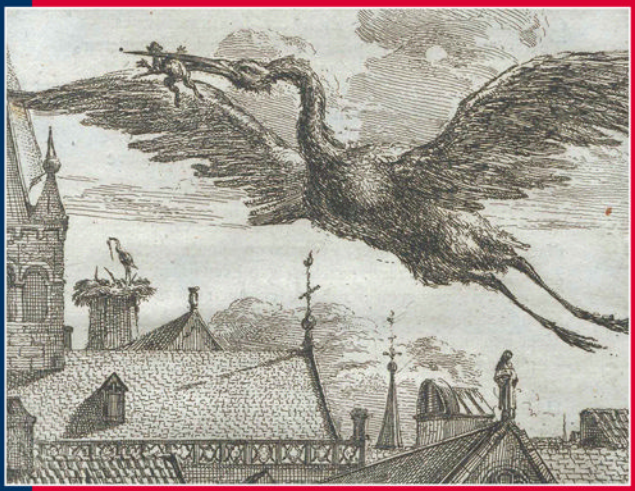
STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION TRADITIONS

Negotiating Differences

Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic



Els Stronks

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Els Stronks

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91 Engraving in Johannes Hazeu, *Kinder-pligt en zinnebeelden*. Amsterdam: Willem van Vliet, 1789, facing 11. Courtesy of Utrecht University Library. 293

PREFACE

In the course of my dissertation research on the poetry of seventeenth-century Reformed ministers in the Dutch Republic, I encountered an eighteenth-century manuscript in the library of Leiden University. Titled *Klein vers boekjen* [Little booklet of verses], it was composed in 1736 by the Friesian schoolmaster Feiko Feikens. It did not belong to the corpus I was studying, but I nevertheless found it intriguing, as it contained not only verses, but also a number of drawings. One of them struck me in particular: it depicted four little flowerpots, lined up in pairs, each placed on a dish (like a cup and saucer). There were inscriptions on each pot and dish: those on the flowerpots referred to the beauty of the flowers as representative of God's greatness and grace while the inscriptions on the dishes focused on the water given to those flowers which collected in the dishes and served as a reminder of God's generosity.

I had just finished reading Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640,* when I discovered Feikens' *Klein vers boekjen*. It was Watt's study of seventeenth-century English devotional literature which made me realize how extraordinary Feikens' manuscript was in the Dutch context. The overwhelming majority of Dutch devotional texts I had read during the course of my research carried none of the illustrations Watt had found in her English sources. Illustrations such as Feikens' drawings—simple, but instructive—were common in Watt's English source materials, but were simply absent in my corpus. Why were Dutch readers not supported by such illustrations, which would have stimulated memorization and visualization of central aspects of their faith?

Taking this question as the point of departure, this book explores the production of illustrated religious literature in the Dutch Republic. As it turns out, not only members of the Reformed Church were hesitant to add imagery to their religious texts; authors, publishers and engravers of all denominations were reluctant to mix the Word with images. Invisible boundaries kept them from mingling Catholic visual practices with Protestant textual traditions. This book is built around the idea that an analysis of the illustrated religious literature produced in that period will reveal those invisible boundaries, and in doing so,

shed light on the nature of the coexistence of the various denominations in the Dutch Republic.

In writing this book, I have been immensely helped by Feike Dietz, Maarten Prak, Marc Van Vaeck, Riet Schenkeveld and Myra Scholz, for which I am very thankful. Considering their roles in the process, it is only fair to mention their names in particular, but I would also like to thank all the others who have made this book possible, including NWO and Brill's Andrew Colin Gow, Ivo Romein and Monica Macfadzean.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE AS REFLECTION OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

In the Dutch Republic, people with seemingly irreconcilable beliefs coexisted peacefully, as almost nowhere else in early modern Western Europe. The specific dynamics of the various groups of people, and the manner in which they constituted peaceful coexistence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, form the subject of this book. The illustrated religious literature produced by authors and publishers from different denominations is used to determine their multilateral relations. These works are perceived as responses to opinions and cultural sensibilities and as representations of identities. The combination of word, image and religion in the early modern era—with the radical Protestant breaking of images still fresh in people's memory—proved to be a cultural battlefield: differences and similarities defining the groups' identities were kept under close watch, and attempts at conciliation did not go unnoticed. In Dutch illustrated religious literature, processes of appropriation of textual and visual elements therefore allow us a close look at processes of identity formation. A small case study will serve to demonstrate this book's purpose and approach.

The Case of Willem Teellinck

In 1622, a devotional treatise entitled *Ecce Homo, ofte ooghen-salve voor die noch sitten in blintheydt des ghemoedts* [Ecce Homo, or eye-salve for those who still sit in the blindness of their hearts] was published in the Republic, written by the Dutch Reformed minister Willem Teellinck.[1] With the publication of the treatise, Teellinck displayed a surprising

[1] The term 'Dutch' will henceforth be used to indicate volumes with Dutch texts published in what was then the Northern Netherlands. During the Eighty Years' War against Spain (1568–1648), the Northern Netherlands united themselves into the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces (referred to as the Republic in the rest of this book). This resulted in the separation of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, as the southern provinces remained loyal to Spain and thus acquired the name Spanish Netherlands. The term 'Low Countries' will be used to indicate the combined Southern and Northern Netherlands.

combination of imperialistic zeal and inward piety. He dedicated the *Ecce Homo* to the representatives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), hoping that they would provide all of their crews with the book. The crew members could then use it to convert the heathens overseas: 'Just imagine […] how the whole place would be mightily stirred, if a faithful man of God, powerful in words […], should come preaching the crucified Christ, plainly and clearly, to a [spiritually] blind Indian in his own language.'[2] These conversions were, according to Teellinck, also imperative for the inhabitants of the Republic. The *Ecce Homo* could be used by Dutch readers in their private devotions to enhance the spiritual dimension of their faith. Teellinck intended to change the world, and also hoped to move the Dutch Reformed Church beyond a reformation of doctrine and polity to a reformation of life and practice.

Despite the fact that the subject of the *Ecce Homo* was visual in nature—*Ecce Homo*, after all, translates to 'Behold this man'—and despite the fact that the volume was intended for unskilled readers who could have benefited from visual aids, the book remained without illustrations. Teellinck used nothing but words to effectuate his intentions, since sincere devotion to Christ, in his opinion found expression in the accurate and conscientious reading of God's Word. The readers were supposed to utilize the textualized image of the crucified Jesus to examine God's hidden features in order to sanctify their lives.

Things did not go according to plan. Although the VOC representatives were willing to pay 72 guilders to the author after each had received a copy of the *Ecce Homo* on April 10th, 1622, they never stocked their ships with Teellinck's book, nor did the ideal of piety as

[2] Translation quoted from Tanis 1974: 73. Tanis based his translation on two sentences, merging them into one: 'Bedenckt my eens, ofte daer een ghetrouwe man Gods, crachtich in woorden, ende machtich in de Schrift, als Apollos, soude comen te prediken aan de blinde *Indianen*, den *gecruysten Christum*, claer en duydelick, in haer eyghen tale'. […] 'soude niet sulcken predicatie des ghecruysten Christi, onder d'*Indianen* in haer eygen tale bequamelick, ende crachtelick ghedaen, de heele plaetse beroeren, groote verwonderinghe verwecken'. [Just imagine, if a faithful man of God, powerful in words and strong in the Scripture, like Apollos, should come there to preach to the blind Indians the *crucified* Christ, plainly and clearly, in their own language.… Would not such preaching of the crucified Christ among the Indians in their own language, done competently and forcefully, stir the whole place, and cause great amazement.] Teellinck 1622: 203 and 204.

expressed in the *Ecce Homo* find immediate access in the Republic.[3] Teellinck's ideas became widely influential only years after his death, when they were used as the basic principles of the pietist movement ('Further Reformation') of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1631, the Utrecht professor Gisbertus Voetius—the leading figure of the Further Reformation—expressed admiration for Teellinck's intentions by classifying the author as 'a second Thomas à Kempis (yet Reformed)', praising him for being the first to raise the issue of the practice of piety, and for aiming to edify members and non members of his congregation.[4]

As acknowledged by Voetius, Catholic authors had begun emphasizing the importance of this practice of piety centuries earlier.[5] Among them, Voetius singled out Thomas à Kempis as one of the most important. This Catholic monk authored the *De Imitatione Christi* [Imitation of Christ], on which the spiritual program of the late medieval religious movement of the Devotio Moderna was based.[6] The issue of devotion had, according to Voetius, been neglected in the Dutch Reformed Church until Teellinck appeared on the scene. In Voetius' opinion, the devil as well as the wicked nature of man caused the neglect of the spiritual dimension of faith, but he also blamed the Remonstrants—his fierce opponents within the Dutch Reformed Church—because they diverted the attention of the Dutch Reformed Church from pastoral concerns to theological quarrels.[7]

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[3] This is evident from the printing history of the *Ecce Homo*: like the rest of the sixty books Teellinck produced during his lifetime, it was not reprinted until decades later (Dordrecht: Michiel Feermans, c. 1646 and Dordrecht: Abraham Andriessz., 1646). See Op 't Hof 2008: 252–255, esp. 255 for an overview of Teellinck's production and popularity.

[4] 'eenen tweeden Thomas à Kempis (doch ghereformeerden)'. Voetius did so in the preface 'Aen den Godtvruchtighen Leser' [To the pious reader] he wrote to Teellinck's posthumously published *De worstelinghe eenes bekeerden sondaers* [The Wrestling of a Converted Sinner], see Teellinck 1631: fol. **3r.

[5] Voetius listed, among others, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventura and Thomas à Kempis, see 'Aen den Godtvruchtighen Leser' by Gisbertus Voetius in Teellinck 1631: fol. **2r.

[6] This program aimed 'at the development of a rich inner life of the spirit, detachment from the world, a keen awareness of one's states of mind and wholesale immersion of one's self in Christ', see Eire 2007: 87.

[7] 'Maer gelijck gheen goede dinghen door de listicheyt des Satans ende onse menschelijcke traegheyt in eenen ghelijcken goeden stant blijven: soo is het oock gegaen met den aenghesteken yver, door dese ende diergelijcke *Practijck-scribenten*, dewijle den lust tot de practijcke der godtsalicheyt, ende volgens dien tot het uytgeven ende lesen van *Practyck-schriften* allengskens is komen te verdwijnen, insonderheydt daer by komende het woelen der *Remonstranten*, die ons de heele practijcke der Theologie tot enckel haerclieven, procedureren ende pleytinghen, by nae souden

By comparing Teellinck to Thomas à Kempis, Voetius associated Teellinck with Catholic devotional traditions. Teellinck himself had a different view of the matter, as becomes clear from his preface to the *Ecce Homo*, titled 'Verclaringe Over den Titel van dit Tractaet' [Clarification of the Title of this Treatise]. Teellinck admitted that his choice of title, *Ecce Homo*, called to mind Catholic artists who painted or engraved images of the suffering Christ with the caption 'Ecce Homo' to evoke pious emotions in those who viewed them, but he distanced himself from these images:

> In many places one finds paintings of a head crowned with thorns and covered with blood with the caption *Ecce Homo*, that is, Behold the Man. This is a human invention to present us with the inhuman passion and the most bitter suffering of our Savior and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and thus it also awakens merely human emotions and bodily devotion.[8]

Teellinck was obviously acquainted with 'Ecce Homo' imagery, but rejected it despite its biblical origins. The living word of God alone ['alleene'], and not some image, should be the Christian's compass.[9]

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ghebracht hebben.' [But just as no good things continue in their good state owing to the cunning of Satan and our human neglect, so it was also with the zeal kindled by such *Writers on* [pious] *practice*, because the desire for the practice of godliness, and consequently the publishing and reading of *Writings on practice* has gradually disappeared, especially with the commotion created by the *Remonstrants*, who have reduced the entire practice of theology to almost nothing more than hair-splitting arguments and legalistic issues]. See 'Aen den Godtvruchtighen Leser' by Gisbertus Voetius, in Teellinck 1631: fol. **2r–v.

[8] 'Men vint in veel plaetsen geschildert een hooft ghekroont met Doornen, ende albebloedt, met dit op-schrift: *Ecce Homo*, dat is, *Siet de Mensche*: Dits een menschen vont, om ons d'onmenschelicke *passie*, ende het alderbitterste lijden onses Heylandts, ende Salichmakers *Iesu Christi*, voor te stellen, soo verweckt het oock maer menschelicke beweginghen, ende een vleeschelicke Devotie'. Teellinck 1622: fol. *1v.

[9] 'Wy hebben betracht in dit navolghende Tractaet, het bescheet deser woorden, uyt den woorde des Heeren, te openen; ende daer uyt te verklaren, hoedanigh het *bittere* lijden onses Heylandts, ende Salichmakers Iesu Christi geweest sy, ende wat de *soete* vruchten zyn, die wy daer uyt erlanghen konnen. Hier inne hebben wy gevolcht het doen veler treffelicker mannen, beyde der eerster eeuwen, ende deses tijts; maer hebben ons de heylige Schriftuere enckelicken tot een Exemplaer voor-ghestelt, om het lijden Christi, ende de vruchten van dien te verclaren; als die daer weten dat het woort Gods alleene, is dat *twee-snijdende sweert, 'twelck door-gaet tot de verscheydinge der zielen, ende oock des gheestes, zenuwen, ende leden des herten*, dienstich om de zielen te bekeeren, ende in de ware bekeeringhe te verstercken'. [In the following treatise we have attempted to reveal the meaning of these words of the Lord, and with them to explain the bitterness of the suffering of our Savior and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and what sweet fruits we can derive from it. In this we have followed the example of many excellent men, both of the first centuries and of this time, but have taken only Holy Scripture as our example to explain the suffering of Christ and its fruits; as those who

God's Word is, as described in Hebrews 4:12, a double-edged sword which penetrates the soul, exposing one's most hidden thoughts and motivations.[10] The word 'alleene' [alone] Teellinck added to Hebrews 4:12 on his own authority to reinforce his interpretation of this biblical verse.[11] Images are redundant, and even dangerous: they evoke human emotions and non-spiritual, bodily devotion. Out of curiosity, the human eye is inclined to examine everything, and this inclination is insatiable, as Teellinck maintains elsewhere in his *Ecce Homo*.[12] The author assures his readers that he is willing to satisfy the human need for visible evidence of God's power, but insists that this can only be done textually by providing explanations of God's Word. His opposition to the use of imagery in religious literary works was paralleled by the growing need for a spiritual deepening of faith.[13]

Teellinck's *Ecce Homo* presents in a nutshell, and in one of its most extreme forms, the Reformed position on the hierarchy between word and image, which was diametrically opposed to the Catholic view. Central to the Reformed and Catholic debate was the interpretation of the second of the Ten Commandments, in Exodus 20: 4–5: 'Thou shalt

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know that the word of God alone, that *two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing of soul and of spirit, nerves, and the [hidden] parts of the heart,* can serve to convert souls and to strengthen them in true conversion.' Teellinck 1622: fol. *1v.

[10] Hebrews 4:12 reads, in the King James version: 'For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.' The letter to the Hebrews can be characterized as a meditation on the early Christian confession of faith that Christ died for the sins of all believers.

[11] The word 'alleene' [alone] did not occur in Dutch Bible translations (Deux Aes translation, Biestkens and Liesveldt translation) available at the time—just as it is missing from the King James version. Nor would it turn up in the Statenvertaling, the Dutch States Bible, of 1637.

[12] 'De menschen zijn te male seer nieuws-gierch, ende *d'ooge wert niet versadight met zien*, gelijck Salomon getuycht Eccles. 1.8.' ['People are simply very curious, and *the eye is not satiated with seeing*, as Solomon testifies in Ecclesiates 1:8], Teellinck 1646: 57. Quoted from the second edition. Teellinck gives this inclination a spiritual turn by urging his readers to have a look at 'd'alderwonderlicste dingen die de werelt niet toonen en can, wonderen die de wonderlicke Godt ghewrocht heeft' [the most wonderful things the world cannot display, wonders wrought by the wondrous God]. Teellinck 1646: 59.

[13] The striving for a more spiritual dimension of the Protestant faith was in fact never absent in the history of the Northern Netherlands as is testified, for instance, by *T'Wonder-boeck* of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist David Joris, who propagated the idea that the service of God should have its seat in the heart of men, in 'faith working through love'. Quoted in van Veen 2002: 129. *T'Wonder-boeck*, first published in Deventer in 1542, remained without illustrations.

not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above. […] Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them'. In the Christian faith, this was traditionally interpreted as the prohibition of the wrong use of religious imagery.[14] On this interpretation the Catholic Church based numerous visual practices and rituals, which were condemned as abuse by Reformers. In the sixteenth century, tensions over the issue culminated in the iconoclastic destruction of images in large parts of Western Europe.[15] The tension surfaces again in Teellinck's *Ecce Homo*: theology, ideology, politics and the arts were still inseparable.[16]

While personal devotion in the Catholic Church had long been enhanced by texts illustrated with images of Christ, Mary and the saints, for instance, for the purpose of clarifying the content of the faith as well as facilitating its memorization and internalization, the use of religious imagery in literature presented a new problem to authors and publishers in the Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[17]

The Nature of Peaceful Coexistence in the Republic

I will return to the case of Teellinck in greater detail in the next chapters. At this point, it serves to illustrate and clarify the topic and approach presented here. Building on events such as the publication of Teellinck's *Ecce Homo*, this book examines the role of illustrated religious literature in the shaping of religious identities and in the managing and containing of confessional conflict in the Republic. Various conflicting opinions and positions were recognized, upheld and disputed in events such as these, as becomes clear from the way Teellinck admitted to having modeled the devotional features of this work on the Catholic tradition, appropriating and, at the same time, adapting it to his purpose of spreading his Dutch Reformed program

[14] In the Jewish Faith, this second Commandment is interpreted differently, namely as a complete prohibition on the fabrication of religious images. See on this issue for instance Besançon 2000, and van Asselt et al. 2007.

[15] See for a case study of the diffusion of iconoclasm Wandel 1995.

[16] As Peter Arnade has argued, such a connection between theology, ideology and politics could also be found in the breaking of images during the Dutch Revolt, see Arnade 2008.

[17] The same was true of the veneration of the saints, see Exalto 2005.

as widely as possible. The Catholic origins of Teellinck's devotional program were acknowledged by Voetius, who welcomed the turn to the spiritual, but at the same time further alienated the Remonstrants within his own Dutch Reformed Church by accusing them of delaying the development of devotional practices for years with their theological arguments.

This book explores the Dutch production of illustrated religious literature for clues to the cultural interaction of the various denominations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What kind of cultural exchange was acceptable and possible? What can be said of the nature of 'pillarization' and toleration in the Republic on the basis of an analysis of cultural borders and the trespassing across these borders? Central to the approach of this book is the assumption that there was a relation between interconfessional literary exchange in illustrated religious literature and the practice of peaceful coexistence. This assumption is based on evidence that the illustrated religious literature was as much an instrument of change as a response to contemporary opinions on issues of faith and toleration. Publications such as Teellinck's *Ecce Homo* can be seen as a confrontation between different religious groups, one which both reflected and transformed the opinions and sentiments of the inhabitants of the Republic who were defining their identities and their positions in response to their ideological opponents. The outlines of the different groups become visible by studying the kind of illustrated literature they produced. This production was steered by the readers' preferences, since they decided what to buy. Because publishers and authors adapted to their needs, the literary production reflects a group's profile rather than individual intentions. It is assumed that the identities formed and shaped in the literary realm were, to a certain extent, also indicative of the Republic's social and religious constellation. The preferences of publishers, authors and readers are therefore assessed as corollaries of their behavior in other realms of life. Literature is perceived as a social framework in which the ideologies of its participants were shaped and reshaped.[18]

In this book, 'religious literature' is defined both as literature specifically related to the Bible, as well as works concerned with the relationship between God and the faithful. The second type is also often referred to as 'devotional literature': literature used as a means

[18] See Rigney 2004 for an analysis of literature as a social framework.

of shaping the faith of its readers, usually based on the concepts of prayer and private devotion, and motivating them to lead a pious life.[19] Religious identity is understood here as the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others.[20] The construction of these religious identities involved the representations and opinions conveyed through *media*—literature and the visual arts in this particular case. These representations were used to construe differences and similarities between 'us' and 'them' on the basis of diverging religious convictions. The contrasting ideologies served as a means to stigmatize 'the other', and by doing so, to identify 'the self.'[21]

The research questions underlying this book are generated by the widely discussed phenomenon of 'peaceful coexistence' (or, to use Willem Frijhoff's coinage, 'the ecumenicity of everyday life' [*omgangs-oecumene*]): the relative freedom in which different denominations and their ideologies coexisted in the Republic. While theologians and philosophers began their broad theoretical and scholarly debates about the nature and value of toleration only in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Republic saw a rise in pragmatic, irenic forms of everyday life early in the seventeenth century, a point first made by Frijhoff in 1983.[22] This thesis was further enhanced by the survey *Bevochten eendracht* [translated as *Hard-Won Unity* in 2004] by Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, and has evoked considerable response in studies such as Benjamin J. Kaplan's *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (2007) and Charles H. Parker's *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (2008). A growing understanding of the Republic's social structures and cultural participation has led scholars to appreciate the porosity of early modern confessional boundaries in confessionalization processes, and thus to a reassessment of the 'confessionalization thesis', which stated that in the search for distinct Catholic and Protestant identities in early modern Northern Europe, confessional boundaries were fixed.[23] Recent scholarship has provided valuable insight into the nature of peaceful coexistence in

[19] I rely here on the definition of 'religious literature' given in Green 2000: ix; see for a discussion of the use of the term 'devotional' to Eire 2007: 85–86 and 99–100.
[20] See for a description of the terminology used here Ammerman 2003: 207–224.
[21] This process is also described in Dekoninck 2007: 165–173.
[22] See Frijhoff 1983: esp. 435.
[23] See Schilling and Tóth 2006.

the Republic, but has also left us with unanswered questions and conflicting results. From the existing research it has become clear that since there was no real state church, and since the principle of freedom of conscience arose as a positive ideology during the Dutch Revolt, some freedom of speech in private circles was assured for minority groups such as the Anabaptists, Remonstrants, Collegiants, Lutherans and Catholics. Liberties also derived from the fact that equilibrium was established between Calvinists and a large Catholic minority. The Dutch Reformed aspired to a theocracy with a single state church, but never realized their ideal. Calvinism was the dominant religion, but was never the official religion of the state; it served as a public observance designed to uphold civic virtues and identity.[24] These circumstances created opportunities for the minorities in the Republic, who were supported by pleas for religious toleration as, for instance, expressed by Dirck V. Coornhert at the end of the sixteenth century.[25] Since the principle of freedom of conscience was understood not as the freedom of religious practice but as the freedom of thought, there was ample room for negotiation.[26] The interconfessional encounters in friendships, marriage, trade and culture which reflect these negotiations have been intensively studied in recent years.

It has also become clear that toleration was disregarded or sidetracked during certain episodes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most notably by the Protestants during their controversies in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, which culminated in the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619). The bounds of toleration and religious freedom were narrowed as religious disputes, fueled by political ambitions within the Reformed Church between Remonstrants (Arminians) and Counter-Remonstrants (Calvinists), reached a climax, resulting in such extreme measures as the execution of the political leader (and Remonstrant) Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1619, and the removal of Remonstrant ministers from their ministries after 1618.[27]

Scholars disagree as to the exact nature of the policy of tolerance in the Republic and the way in which peaceful coexistence was constituted

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[24] See for more details Fokkema 2004: 95–96.

[25] Dirck Coornhert's main work, *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenkunste* [Ethics, that is the art of living well] (1586) aimed at the training of human willpower led by true knowledge, which was provided by reason, not by theological doctrines.

[26] See Frijhoff 2008: 99–122, esp. 104.

[27] See for an analysis of these episodes Schenkeveld 1991: 51.

over the decades: to what degree could practices which were officially forbidden still be carried out, especially where the Catholic majority was concerned? How much effect did the official policies have on daily life, and which were the periods of greatest and least religious toleration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

With regard to the policy of toleration towards the Catholics, Charles Parker has recently argued that, although the freedom of conscience proviso in the Union of Utrecht (1579) gave Catholics in the Republic the liberty and protection that confessional minorities in other European countries lacked, the practice of the Catholic faith was more restricted than some scholars have thus far presumed.[28] Because the Eighty Years' War against Spain brought with it the bloody persecution of Protestant heretics by the Spanish, the Dutch Catholics were looked upon as potential enemies. As argued by several scholars, the authorities embarked on a new course for dealing with religious differences in society after the Peace of Munster in 1648. There was a concerted effort to maintain equilibrium between the main public church, several smaller Protestant movements, and the large minority of Catholics.[29] Others have argued that during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Catholic doctrine, in particular its Jesuit variety, was again hotly disputed in the Republic. John Marshall, for example, in his study *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture*, mentions the growth of anti-Catholicism in the Netherlands after 1680 as a reaction to the atrocities perpetrated by Catholics against the Huguenots in France (and, even before, against the Waldensians in Italy) and to the coronation of the Catholic James II in England in 1685.[30] Maarten Prak has shown that this growing antipathy led to the enforcement of anti-Catholic legislation in parts of the Republic during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, since the Catholics still formed a threat in the south, and new threats were arising in Munster.[31]

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[28] According to Parker a 'structure of intoleration, harassment, and exclusion' seems to have characterized the lives of Catholics in the 'Holland Mission'. Parker 2008: esp. 24. Different opinions are expressed in van Eijnatten and van Lieburg 2006: 169 and 182; and Spaans 2004: 387–388.

[29] See for instance Spaans 2003: 149–166; Pollmann 2006: 123–148; and Heimann 1999: 459–460.

[30] Marshall 2006: 3 and 164, 172–174.

[31] Prak 2002: 159–175.

In general, according to Jonathan Israel, between 1670 and 1720 the Republic lost the open debate culture that had flourished in the first half of the century, when the Dutch were allowed to overtly express deviating opinions on religious issues.[32] This all changed, Israel maintains, when Dutch intellectuals—Protestants and Catholics alike—began to rigorously contest the ideas of Spinoza and Descartes around 1670. Marijke Spies also found that more and more discrepancies developed between the various denominations over the century, very often resulting in sneers, allegations and persecution.[33] The pragmatic attitude which contributed to peaceful coexistence was in decline towards the end of the century, according to Spies. In opposition to Israel and Spies, Kaplan has argued that there is alternative evidence—not the intensively studied elite's opinions, but the laypeople's—which suggests that on a day-to-day basis, the inhabitants of the Republic were increasingly crossing confessional borders during the course of the seventeenth century.

In line with Frijhoff, Kaplan contended that a distinction was made in the Republic between the public and private spheres, which enabled magistrates to uphold the integrity of a Protestant political order while avoiding the social turmoil of religious violence.[34] Interconfessional relationships, such as friendships between Protestants and Catholics, came to be more openly accepted as a result of this informal policy, as several scholars have argued.[35]

This book aims to investigate the specific nature of the peaceful coexistence and religious toleration in the Republic by analyzing what kind of illustrated religious literature was and could be produced, thus mapping threatened or actual censorship, the polemics between Protestants and Catholics, and their daily practices. Thus far, literary sources have been mostly disregarded in the debate on this topic. Possible exchange between literary traditions of various denominations has rarely been discussed, and almost never with the focus on the complicating factor of illustrations in religious literature.[36] Also, most of the existing

[32] Israel 2006: 31, and 380–381.

[33] 'een zich in de loop van de eeuw steeds scherper aftekenende discrepantie tussen de verschillende geloofsrichtingen, die niet zelden uitliep op gescheld, verdachtmaking en vervolging', Spies 2003: 3.

[34] Kaplan 2007: 262–263.

[35] See for instance Kooi 2004: 165–176.

[36] Riet Schenkeveld studied two cases in which poetry written for weddings was adjusted to the denominations of the bride and groom and their families, see

research focuses on polemical exponents of Dutch religious literature.[37] Sermons, pamphlets and songs appear to be used mainly to define the separate identities of the various denominations, and trespassing across those cultural boundaries did not seem to occur.[38]

The existing studies of Dutch religious literature as well as investigations into the Dutch religious reading culture—not the literary works themselves, but the circumstances they thrived in, such as the high degree of literacy in the Republic—led Frijhoff to hypothesize that within the Republic, Calvinism became the religion of word and book: 'Calvinism always defined itself as a culture of listening to the word, […] and of working with words', in contrast to Catholicism: 'the Catholics developed another strategy of identity-building than the Calvinists. They turned towards the ritual and visual aspects of culture, which were singled out and perceived as a typically Catholic form of religion.[39] Identity strategies, as reflected in the reading culture of the Republic, evolved into sets of opposing practices visible in the

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Schenkeveld 2002: 59–74 and Schenkeveld 1982: 50–60. See also an article by Leen Strengholt on the Catholic roots of one of the best-known sonnets in Dutch literature of the first half of the seventeenth century (Jacobus Revius' 'Hij droech onse smerten' [He bore our pains]). These roots were carefully hidden by Revius, who, as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church, was apparently restricted in identifying the direct (Catholic) source of the line of thought in this particular sonnet, see Strengholt 1962: 486–489. Scholz 2003 suggested the study of devotional literature to outline confessional borders and the transgression of these borders. And see Davis 2009 and Aston 2010 for cases studies in sixteenth-century England, which take the complications of religious imagery into account. Prints in England: see McKitterick 2003, Chapter 3, for a discussion on bibliographical questions surrounding 'hybrid books', consisting partly of print and partly of manuscript, which were often embellished with illustrations by individual owners, which also reveal some sensibilities surrounding the issue of religious illustrations.

[37] Although Kaplan pays tribute to the achievements of research carried out in the field of literary studies, stating that this discipline devised new methodologies and approaches to reconstruct the opinions and mentalities of laypeople, he almost completely ignores (popular) religious literature to support his thesis. See Kaplan 2007: 8, 38, 131 and 243.

[38] Frijhoff and Spies provide only a rough sketch, and in their conclusion place more emphasis on the differences than on the similarities: 'Differences […] in religious-cultural sensibilities and taste would continue to be an important factor in defining the separate identities over the next two or three centuries', Frijhoff, Spies and Bunge 2004: 468.

[39] All the historical evidence converges in this hypothesis, Frijhoff claims, considering the 'typical Protestant forms of book magic' found in the Republic, and a 'complete refusal of reading culture among the Catholic people, at least in the domain of religion', Frijhoff 2007: 205–206. The special character of the Dutch 'Republic of Letters', with its relatively high degree of literacy, is underscored in Frijhoff 2004: 252–265.

public and private spheres, and in both cases related to a confessional choice, according to Frijhoff.[40] On the practical level—friendships and trade—sharing and cooperation were possible precisely because people did not interfere in one another's religious life and avoided discussions on confessional issues. This idea of separation and exclusion supports the thesis posed by, for instance, Kaplan and Monter, that religious toleration in the early modern era was related to the original meaning of the verb 'to tolerate', to endure; unlike today, early modern toleration was supposedly not aimed at the actual acceptance of another's point of view or even at the integration of various points of view.[41]

How accurate are these ideas when the practices of the production of illustrated religious literature are taken into account? In the research into the spread of interconfessional encounters, the cultural responses to the word-image controversy between Protestants and Catholics offer a key opportunity to explore when, why and to what extent people were willing to reconcile theological differences and combine elements from their own religious cultural practices with those of another. The little research done in the field of the reception of religious literature already provides grounds for contesting the thesis of separate identities. Catholic religious works were found in libraries and inventories of Dutch Reformed readers, and vice versa.[42] Also, religious literature produced by various denominations was kept in the homes of the faithful and read during their informal gatherings.[43] The *Stichtelijcke rijmen* [Edifying Rhymes] by the popular Remonstrant minister Dirck R. Camphuysen, for instance, were sung by Remonstrants as well as Counter-Remonstrants. The fact that his poetry had total sanctification as its central issue was apparently more important than the dogmatic differences, which were in themselves not marginal: the Remonstrant Camphuysen perceived sanctification as the condition for salvation, while the Counter-Remonstrants were convinced that sanctification

[40] Frijhoff 2008: esp. 115–116.

[41] See Monter 2006: 8–9; Kaplan 2007: 8; and Habermas 2004: 5–18. And Walsham 2006: 4; Walsham also offers an insightful overview of approaches to the history of tolerance and intolerance, see Walsham 2006: 6–38.

[42] See for instance Kaplan 2007: 243 and Exalto 2005. Exalto shows that the Calvinists in their own way also looked to predecessors whose pious lives allowed them to fulfill a role resembling that of exemplary 'saints', although there was of course never any official veneration.

[43] See for instance Frijhoff 2006: 62–65, esp. 62.

was the consequence of salvation. These differences, however, played no part in the interconfessional use of the volume.[44]

In the existing research into Dutch paintings and prints with religious subjects, evidence of interconfessional cultural exchange is also abundant.[45] Recently found documents from an Italian archive, for instance, revealed that the Protestant Rembrandt van Rijn was commissioned by the Catholic Francesco Maria Sauli from Genua. Sauli ordered two religious paintings for his family chapel.[46] It also is a known fact that in the Republic one could—in the privacy of one's home—enjoy portraits, historical paintings and still-life compositions made by painters of all denominations.[47] In addition, Mia Mochizuki, in her study *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672*, has investigated the new visual traditions developed by the Protestants after they had removed all Catholic imagery from the churches. The religious imagery that slowly made its way back into the Protestant churches as an alternative to the Catholic tradition was found in text paintings, stained glass windows, chandeliers, decorative borders and tombs.[48] From the art historian's point of view, it has therefore been argued by Reindert Falkenburg that, although the Dutch Reformed were in general very influential in the Republic, the Calvinist faith should not be identified as the underlying force of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century.[49]

In the production of illustrated religious literature, the issue of cultural exchange was even more controversial and pressing than in the

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[44] See Schenkeveld 1991: 51.

[45] Protestant engravers were, for instance, commissioned by Catholics to produce scenes which were controversial or even off-limits in their own denomination. Falkenburg 1999: 357. Gary D. Schwartz wrote: 'Outside the hard dogmatic core of each party, however, most people in those confused times, no matter what their church, tended towards a middle-of-the-road religiousness with elements of all prevailing religions, in various degrees', see Schwartz 1985: 14. See also van Thiel 1990–1991: 39–62.

[46] Magnani 2007: 2–17.

[47] See for instance Michalski 1993: esp. 71; and Hardy 1999: 1–16. Some differences in taste have been established: between 1620 and 1679, the Catholics in Amsterdam, for instance, owned many more religious paintings than the Dutch Reformed (38 versus 16 percent, respectively). And the Dutch Reformed favored biblical stories as their subjects, while the Catholics preferred paintings of Jesus on the cross, or of the saints or Mary, see Benedict 1999: 19–45, esp. 40.

[48] She was building on observations already made in, for instance, van Swigchem et al. 1984.

[49] Falkenburg 1999: 343–368, esp. 351.

visual arts and the reading culture, since God's Word and imagery were combined in this medium, and since publication brought it out of the privacy of one's home and into the public sphere. Therefore, the liberties and limits of the production of illustrated literature, as well as the considerations that went into the acceptance or rejection of the various options, give a clear picture of the various religious identities and their multilateral relations. This book proceeds from the observation made by Philip Benedict in 1999 that this kind of research into cultural exchange 'takes one today into a rich set of questions about processes of cultural appropriation, cultural change, and individual creativity within the constraints of inherited traditions, market forces, and institutional oversight. The topic raises important questions about the force of theological systems and their interaction with other elements of a culture'.[50] Although the existing research into censorship in the Republic has revealed very few public and official restrictions, there were most certainly unwritten rules of behavior which governed daily practices, and these are the kinds of constraints this book aims to map.[51] Censorship is not just about rights and laws: it is also about what kinds of publications violate the values that shape the interaction between different groups and individuals. This phenomenon has recently been referred to by Deborah Shuger—albeit in a somewhat different context—as 'cultural sensibility': the unwritten rules which determine what can and cannot—decently and safely—be done and said in a society. These 'laws of God, man, and manners', I would add, also play a part in the formation and maintenance of groups and group identities: whoever intended to function within a group had to conform to these 'laws', and whoever wanted to change them could not do so without touching and disputing the limits set to a group's identity.[52]

It is my thesis, based on the reconstruction of cultural sensibilities with regard to the controversial combination of word, image and

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[50] Benedict 1999: 19–45, esp. 44.

[51] Ingrid M. Weekhout reported only incidental and small-scale cases of censorship, see Weekhout 1998, but restrictions were indeed found when the situation was analyzed from the perspective of publishers in Visser 1996.

[52] In Shuger's words: 'the laws of God, man, and manners governing how persons should treat each other'. She introduces the terminology in her research into the English laws which, in the early modern era, governed the freedom of speech. See Shuger 2006: 102. On the invisible boundaries between Catholics and Protestants in the biconfessional city of Augsburg, see François 1991.

religion, that the intermingling of traditions was unexpectedly complicated in the Republic. Up until 1630, the Catholic identity was hardly visible in the Dutch Republic. Between 1630 and 1670, the various denominations—including the Catholics—profiled themselves as separate identities, appropriating specific and distinct elements of the Catholic visual traditions. These separate confessional identities partly converged after 1670. By that time, religious toleration had become a matter of sharing rather than enduring for the Dutch Protestants, who appropriated much of the Catholics' cultural tradition and identity. At the same time, the Dutch Catholics were developing a new and idiosyncratic identity, moving away from the Protestants, who were absorbing significant aspects of the former Catholic identity into their own.

In addition, questions deriving from this conclusion are posed in the epilogue of this book. How do the new insights into the delayed development of Dutch illustrated religious literature relate to existing studies on popular culture and popular piety—studies which indicate that the Republic was quite tolerant of divergent religious perspectives and practices? Why was the intermingling of visual and textual practices unexpectedly complicated in the religious literature of the Republic in comparison to neighboring countries?[53]

Scope of Analysis

In this book, the literary perspective is broadened with approaches adopted from book history, cultural history and visual studies in order to combine two traditions in literary studies: one that focuses on studying literature as a system of related signs which obtain and carry meaning because of the relationship between the signs, and one that focuses on literature as a system produced by groups such as readers, publishers, authors and reviewers. In the case of Teellinck discussed above, for instance, the profession of the author obliged him to take the Dutch Reformed Church's policy on the use of religious imagery into account: the act of writing a book was thus imbedded in a context which influenced the actual writing. Equally important is the fact that Teellinck was endorsed and supported by publishers

[53] Even at the end of the sixteenth century, religious literature produced in the Republic contained far fewer illustrations than literature produced in the neighboring countries, as argued in Pettegree 2005: 106.

from Middelburg long before the Dutch Reformed Church authorized his work. The impact of authors and their sponsors and readers transcended the individual level thanks to the position they held in society. The act of looking at images as well as the act of writing and reading are therefore viewed as social practices, with consideration given to a wide array of ideological and sociological implications.[54]

In this study, it is assumed that the differences and similarities between old and new texts act as signposts for the process of appropriation manifested in Dutch religious literature. By examining the freedom of choice shown in the process of appropriation, I am able to make a number of claims about the context of these works. If one wishes to reconstruct a given text's historical reading as well as the historical mentalities it reflects, one can analyze the process of appropriation borne out in new texts that are based upon previous texts and read by a new public. In other words, the similarities and differences point towards certain shifts in emphasis which steer the new public in the direction of a certain interpretation.[55]

The process of appropriation is closely related to the concept of rewriting, often an act of ideological commitment and therefore a powerful tool in the shaping and reshaping of collective memory and identities.[56] The rewriting of a genre in particular provides the conditions for changing the culture that this genre reflects, and thus constitutes a radical critique of the literary tradition and of the culture it served to legitimate.[57] A rewriting is significant because it explores the limits of cultural and literary property, and displays the existing traditions as

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[54] As David Morgan argued: 'an image is a visual medium that can act as an instrument of influence. […] This mode of influence treats the image as an encoded message and operates by training the viewer's attention upon an intended content, such as exhorting viewers to display proper conduct'. Morgan 2005: 68.

[55] This approach is based on a theoretical framework designed by Roger Chartier, who—as so many others—assumes that literature does not provide an immediate, unmediated access to the past. Literary sources are determined and shaped by 'a particular relation to the reality they designate: depiction, representation, prohibition, prescription, quantification, and so on.' Chartier 2006: 136, and also Chartier 1995: 2–3 and 49–50.

[56] As argued by Julie Saunders: 'Adaptation and appropriation […] are all about multiple interactions and a matrix of possibilities. They are, endlessly and wonderfully, about seeing things come back to us in as many forms as possible'; and 'There is frequently heartfelt political commitment standing behind acts of literary appropriation or "re-vision"'. Saunders 2006: 160.

[57] Fetterley 1978: xx.

well as the alternative new forms its creators have in mind.[58] I will give several examples of these processes in the course of this study.

The International and Historical Context

As shown in the case of Teellinck, the Republic's culture should not be viewed from a national perspective and in isolation. The images of the crucified Christ that Teellinck opposed were seldom produced in the Republic at the time, but they had been especially popular in the Southern Netherlands ever since Antwerp was captured by the Spanish in 1585.[59] Teellinck's readers had access to this imagery because inhabitants of the Republic could travel to the Southern Netherlands somewhat more freely during the Twelve Years' Truce and because books and prints produced in the Southern Netherlands were most likely also available in the Republic.[60] An important specimen of this production is Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* [Pictures of the Gospel Stories], printed in Christophe Plantin's workshop in 1593.[61] Nadal, who was St. Ignatius Loyola's closest collaborator in the early days of the Society of Jesus, combined engravings portraying episodes from the Gospels executed by the premier Flemish engravers with his explanatory notes and meditations on these episodes. His *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* includes four *Ecce Homo* scenes, in which he turned the reader into a witness of the unfolding action, following Ignatius' idea that in order to meditate on Christ's Passion we must observe His suffering as if we were ourselves present:

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[58] See Genette 1997.

[59] Christ's Passion had become the favorite subject of the Southern print and book culture in the last part of the sixteenth century, according to van der Coelen 1998: 129.

[60] Teellinck even wrote a pamphlet to warn against this kind of 'image tourism', urging his compatriots to refrain from the lamentable gawking at idols and at the Papists' idolatry, 'which many of our people have engaged in most foolishly in our neighboring provinces since the Truce,' see Teellinck 1611a: fol. A2r. Quoted is the second edition, since no copy of the first edition has survived. On the book trade between the Southern and Northern Netherlands, see Clemens 1992: 85–94.

[61] These prints accompanied texts which were published in a separate volume, titled *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* [Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels], originally printed in Antwerp in 1595 at Plantin's workshop, and reprinted twice before 1607. See for a detailed analysis of these prints and the relationship between Nadal and St. Ignatius Loyola, Melion 2007: esp. 2–3.

GESTA POST CORONATIONEM, ANTEQVAM FERRETVR SENTENTIA..
Ioan. xix.
123
xcvi
A
B
C
D
Hieronymus Wierix fculp.
A. Oſtendit Pilatus Iudæis IESVM flagellatum, & coronatum è ſpinis; Dicit, Ecce Homo.
B. Cum defenderet IESVM Pilatus, ad accuſationem blaſphemiæ veniunt; Filium Dei ſe fecit.
C. Magis timuit Pilatus, propterea ingreſſus in prætorium, accuratius interrogat IESVM; Vnde es tu?
D. Non Reſpondet illi IESVS.
C. Quod videns Pilatus, vrget illum concitate.
D. Reſpondet IESVS; Non haberes poteſtatem, &c.
A. Motus verbis IESV, apertius agit, vt ipsum liberet.
B. Addunt Iudæi; Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus Cæſaris.
A. Hac plaga Pilatus à defenſione IESV deiectus eſt.

Fig. 1 Jérome Nadal, 'Coronatur Spinis Iesus' [Jesus is Crowned with Thorns], printed in *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines ex ordine evangeliorum, quae toto anno in missae sacrificio recitantur, in ordinem temporis vitae Christi digestae*. Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1593.

When relevant, the literary production in the neighboring countries of the Republic—especially England, the Southern Netherlands and Germany—will be contrasted and compared to the Dutch production to highlight the specifics of the Dutch situation.

The historical context will also be taken into account when relevant, for instance when historic figures or events are referred to as authorities. The arguments and opinions of seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch authors were more often than not an echo of previous discussions. My concerns are, however, not with the historical roots of these debates, but with their manifestations in the Republic.

The Research Corpus

A small part of the research corpus consists of treatises and prefaces in which the use of religious imagery is discussed. The largest part of the corpus consists of a representative and extensive selection of poetry collections, emblem books, picture Bibles and illustrated Bibles, collections of hymns, sermons and prayer books, sources which are roughly divided into two categories, based on a difference in imagery. In the opinion of seventeenth-century Dutch Protestants, as I will argue, there was a distinction to be made between biblical illustrations and allegorical, emblematic imagery.

Biblical illustrations were perceived as literal representations of scenes from the Bible: they were meant to explain biblical stories and support the viewer's memory.[62] All the discussions of such illustrations were focused on the ways in which this 'literalness' should be achieved. In contrast, the purpose of allegorical, emblematic imagery was to create a distance between what was depicted and what was meant. Characteristic of the early modern allegory was that it functioned by exploiting differences rather than similarities.[63] The readers had to perform the complex task of relating the *tenor* to the *vehicle*; it was up to them to unravel all connotations in order to constitute an interpretation.[64] In this process, early modern authors as well as their readers could rely on iconology, as well as on aids such as biblical

[62] As argued by van der Coelen 1998; and Rosier 1997.
[63] Maresca 1993: 21–39, quote on 27.
[64] The object which evokes the comparison is called the *tenor* and the object which describes it is called the *vehicle*, see for instance Schöne 1968.

commentaries, in addition to their own knowledge of literary motifs and themes.[65] The allegories found in textual sources are perhaps even more complex than those in the visual arts, because the addition of text allowed for even more elaborate constructions.[66]

A late reflection on the difference between biblical and emblematic illustrations is found in the preface of the *Sleutel, dewelke verklaard de bybelse figuuren oover de vier evangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen en Openbaaringe Johannis* [Key, which explains the Biblical Figures concerning the Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation], published in 1682 by the Dutch Reformed minister Johannes Möller.[67] In this illustrated volume, with fold-out biblical prints made by one of the most skilled engravers at the time, Romeyn de Hooghe, Möller offered a mix of biblical texts and explanatory comments. It is essential to realize that he built his observations on established practices: in 1682, Möller was able to look back on several decades in which Protestant authors conducted a variety of experiments in order to create acceptable applications of images in religious literature.

Illustrations of biblical scenes were, in Möller's opinion, 'easy to depict', especially when these scenes were selected from the parts of the Bible which consisted of stories and parables. Emblematic images, on the contrary, were meant to represent complex and abstract concepts such as 'meekness' or 'labor' or 'laziness', and creating, as well as analyzing them, demanded much more effort.[68] To advertise his

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[65] Discussions among art historians have revealed that using iconology to interpret allegories does not necessarily imply the construction of one single interpretation. See for an overview of these discussions Baskins 2007: 3–4.

[66] As Baskins puts it: 'Allegory is the recognition of the difference between signifier and signified, of the relation between any use of language and its linguistic or cultural past, and of the difference between the self and the other', Baskins 2007: 3.

[67] Peter van der Coelen also concluded that the picture Bible and the emblem were in fact two separate literary traditions, but he located the difference between the genres in their thematic approaches and their degree of textual complexity rather than in their imagery. See van der Coelen 1999: 261–278, esp. 264.

[68] 'ligtelijk kunnen afgebeeld werden' [can easily be depicted]. In order to make things as easy as possible for the engraver, Möller carefully selected 'het ligste en het gemakkelijkste gedeelte' [the easiest and most comprehensible part] of the Bible, 'naamentlijck, oover de vier Euangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen, en het Boek der Oopenbaaringe [sic] Johannis, welkers inhoud meestendeels in geschiedenissen, in gelijkenissen, en wonderlijke gesigten bestaat' [namely the Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation, which mostly consist of stories, parables and miraculous visions]. Other 'saake/sinnebeelden' [matters/emblems], meant to depict concepts such as 'lijdzaamheid' [meekness], or 'arbeid' [labor] or 'luiheid' [laziness],

collection of biblical prints and texts, Möller presented the first category of images, the biblical illustrations, as superior because they showed 'no unfamiliar, or far-fetched ['vergesogte'] images, no hieroglyphs or emblems; no such images as first have to be invented, and then learned, before they can be applied to the subject, and thus also require a great deal of effort, care and diligence.'[69] When judging the imagery according to its complexity, Möller claimed to be speaking from experience: the drawing lessons he received in his youth helped him to make these observations.[70]

Möller's observation that emblematic imagery was man-made and thus less worthy indicates that at least some Protestants in the Republic—contrary to what Barbara Kiefer Lewalski concluded on the basis of her study of the German, French and English situation—did not accept emblematic imagery as a God-given form of symbolism.[71] Teellinck's objection to the images of the suffering Jesus adds another dimension to this problem: apparently depictions of biblical scenes, when accompanied by texts, were not unproblematic either. These biblical images were rejected by Teellinck because they also testify to the fact that the artist's hands had been at work.

Taking as my point of departure Möller's observations on the difference in both complexity and value of the two types of images, I have worked with a bipartite selection of sources. In general, in both parts of the corpus, fewer illustrations are found in publications produced before 1670. Until 1630, even the books' title pages very often had no illustrations.[72] The only visual effects publishers pursued were created by variations in the typography, or, in rare cases, by inventions such as the following:

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demanded much more work from both the engraver and the viewer because they 'tot de saake, waar toe mense wil gebruiken, gepast [moeten] werden' [they need to be fitted to the subject for which one wishes to use them]. 'Berigt, Aangaande dit Werk', Möller 1682: 22–24.

[69] 'geen vreemde nog vergesogte Beelden, geen Hyeroglyphica ofte Sinnebeelden, geen soodaanige, de welke, gelijk sy eerst moeten uitgevonden, en daar na geleerd werden, eer sy op de saak kunnen gepast werden, soo ook grooten arbeid, moeiten, en neerstigheid vereissen.', in 'Berigt, Aangaande dit Werk', Möller 1682: 30–31.

[70] 'waar toe my veel geholpen heeft, dat ik in mijn jonkheid wat hebben leeren teikenen' [I was greatly helped by the drawing lessons I received in my youth], 'Berigt, Aangaande dit Werk', Möller 1682: 20.

[71] See Lewalski 1979: 185, repeated in for instance Dyrness 2004: 255.

[72] As demonstrated in more detail in Stronks 2009a: 2–25.

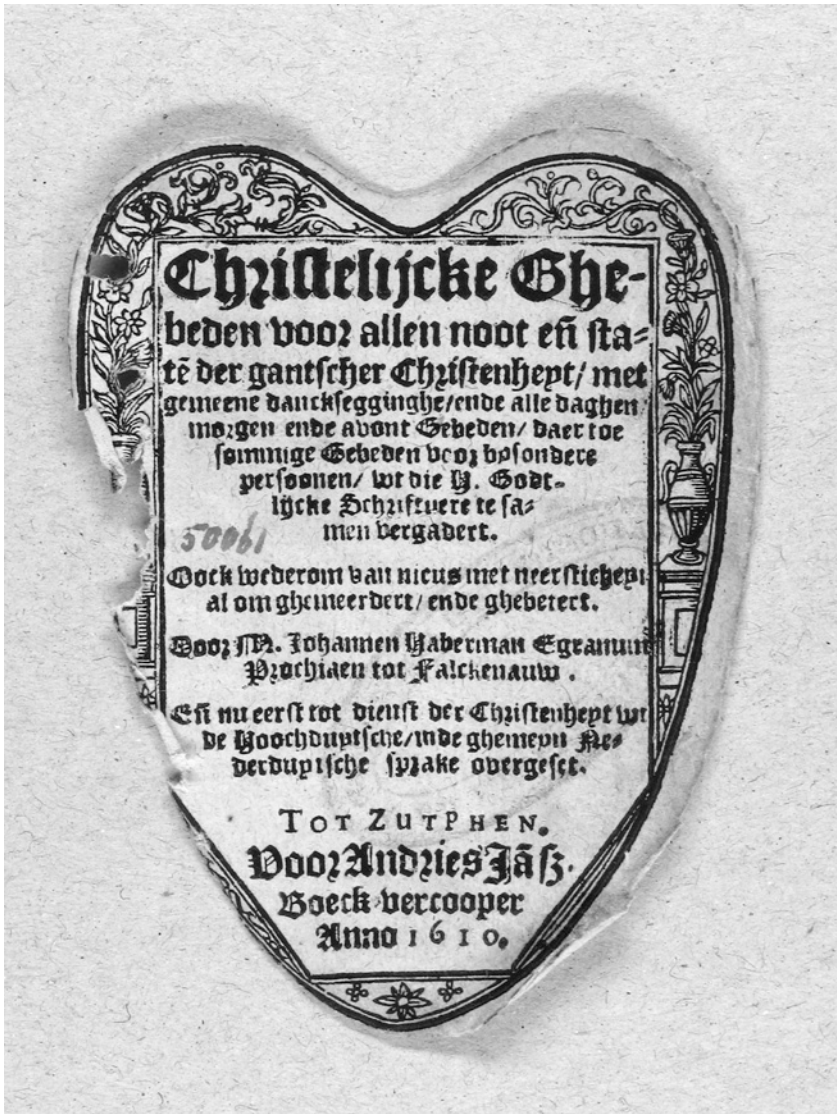

Fig. 2 Title page from Johann Habermann, *Christelijcke ghebeden voor allen noot ende staten der gantscher christenheyt*. Zutphen: Andries Jansz., 1610.

A Dutch translation of a prayer book by the German writer Johann Habermann, printed in 1610 by the Zutphen publisher Andries Jansz, was produced in this special heart-like shape, in an effort to reinforce the effect these prayers might have on the reader's heart.[73]

The fact that cheap hymns and prayer books were not illustrated can very likely be attributed to ideological rather than economic considerations, since in more sophisticated religious publications intended for the elite, illustrations were missing as well, while at the same time popular secular songbooks carried many illustrations.[74]

Some of the volumes produced for the elite also show a creative use of typography. When Willem Blaeu published Constantijn Huygens' *Heilighe Dagen* [Holy Days],[75] a series of sonnets on the Protestant holy days, he decided to print each sonnet on a separate leaf to encourage the reader to hang it on the wall as if it were a painting, when the text was used for private meditation.[76] Just as in Teellinck's case, Huygens' decision not to include illustrations was not based on a lack of knowledge of the visual arts.[77]

After 1670, there was a gradual rise in the number of illustrations. This development is reflected in the printing history of the *Navolginge*

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[73] The central role of the heart is frequently emphasized in these prayers. In the opening prayer of the volume, for instance, Habermann expresses the wish 'dat wy u met mont, ende herten aendachtich met rechten ernst aenroepen' [that we call upon You with our mouth and our hearts, in genuine devotion]. In a prayer for those who are listening to their minister praying, Habermann again wishes: 'laet dat zaet dijns salichmakende Woorts in onse herten beclijven, inwortelen en veel vrucht brengen' [let the seed of Your sanctifying Word take root in our heart, and bring forth much fruit there], Habermann 1610: fol. 7r and fol. 37v. The German text of the Lutheran theologian Habermann, entitled *Christliche Gebett für allerley Not und Stende der gantzen Christenheit* was first published in Wittenberg in 1567. A Dutch translation appeared in 1604, and was reprinted a number of times in the seventeenth century. The 1610 edition, the only one produced in this special shape, was printed in Zwolle by Jan Gerritsz Aerlinck. I have found no evidence of German editions published in this form.

[74] As argued in Veldhorst 2008: 217–286, esp. 259–260. See also Stronks 1996: chapter 1.

[75] Constantijn Huygens, secretary to three successive princes of Orange, was the father of Christiaan Huygens. Blaeu was, as a publisher, famous for his atlases.

[76] See Huygens 1968: 26, and also Schenkeveld 1991: 46.

[77] Huygens had a professional interest in the visual arts, and was acquainted with contemporary discussions. By 1670 he had already obtained a copy of Alexander Browne's *Ars pictoria or an academy treating of drawing, painting, limning and etching*, which was printed in London by J. Redmayne in 1669. See Leerintveld 2009: 151–176, esp. 172. On Huygen's attitude towards the art of painting in general see Broekman 2005.

Christi, a translation of Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*, first published in 1644 by the Dutch Reformed pietist Cornelis Boey. In the preface to this first edition, Boey explained that he, as a Reformed author, was inclined to translate this Catholic text because of the text's 'smaeckelijck' [delightful] nature, and because some authorities had advised him to do so.[78] The part on the Eucharist was left out of the Dutch translation, and no illustrations were added.[79] In the second edition of 1645 a second preface was added, written by Voetius, who had also taken charge of Teellinck's legacy. Voetius reassured Reformed readers that they were free to read Boey's text, since it contained: 'no papist doctrine, but a genuine and spiritual exercise of piety and devotion. What's more, I feel free to say that I have never read anything more modest, solid and godly—with the exception of a few details—apart from the Bible'.[80] The second edition was also unillustrated, as was every reprint produced by various publishers in 1645, 1648, 1655, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1664, 1666 and 1667. The reprint of 1676 was the first to contain illustrations:[81]

Prefacing the third part of Boey's translation, this engraving portrayed a Cupid-like angel pouring fire into the 'aardse vat' [earthen vessel, i.e., humankind]. The fire then rises up to heaven.[50] The iconography of this engraving was, as I will show, based on the tradition of religious emblematics found in the Southern Netherlands (see Fig. 3).

With regard to biblical illustrations, it can be established that these were mostly used in Dutch Bibles—illustrated Bibles and picture Bibles—especially in editions published after 1630, and in volumes with biblical poetry.[82] Numerous Bible prints also circulated in the

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[78] Boey 1644: fol. **4r.

[79] See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 659.

[80] 'geen Paepsche Leere, maer een ware ende een innerlicke Oeffeninge van Godtsaligheydt ende aendagt. Ja dat meer is, ick soude wel derven seggen, dat ick na de Heylige Schrift, noyt yet eenvoudiger, krachtiger, noch Goddelicker gesien en hebbe, eenige kleynigheden uytgenomen'. Quoted from the fifth edition, Boey 1655: fol. **r–v.

[81] Cornelis Boey, *Thomas a Kempis: Navolginge Christi dienstigh voor geleerde en ongeleerde om 't christen geloove inder daedt te beleven, voormaels vert. en doorgaens met verssen verciert by Cornelis Boey. Den laatsten druck, […], en met koopere plaetjes op yder boeck geciert*. Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1676.

[82] An 'illustrated Bible' in my terminology contains a full translation of the Bible (or of the Old Testament or the New Testament); the term 'picture Bible' is used here to describe series of biblical illustrations accompanied by summaries of the Bible, bound together as a book. Bible prints are biblical images with very little or no text, see van der Coelen 2006a: 185–205, esp. 190.

Fig. 3 Cornelis Boey, *Navolginge Christi*, reproduced from the 1681 reprint. Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1681.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but I am not taking these into account because the combination of image and word was less prominent in this genre.

Allegorical, emblematic imagery was used in religious emblem books, and on a smaller scale—for instance only on the title pages—in prayer books, songbooks and sermons. In this part of the research corpus, restrictive mechanisms prevailed. Until around 1670, this kind of imagery was mostly avoided by Dutch Reformed, Remonstrants, Anabaptists and Catholics alike, while in the neighboring countries such as the Southern Netherlands, England, France and Germany, religious emblematics were thriving.[83]

The emblematic genre is of particular interest to this study, since even its secular exponents viewed the word-image combination as a way to achieve a balance between textual and visual media in the tradition of *Ut pictura poesis*, the early modern quest for equilibrium in the arts.[84] Word and image together were intended to create an effect more powerful than that of either single component, an intention that, when applied to an avowedly religious emblem, was bound to clash with Protestant ideas.[85] The first emblem book was created by the Italian lawyer Andrea Alciati in 1531, and the genre soon became immensely popular. The numerous emblem books in Europe which were modeled after Alciati's example shared a tendency towards the moralistic and were meant to supply answers to questions concerning moral conduct, such as how to behave as a husband, a scholar, a friend, an old man, etc. Religion and confessional strategies became a constitutive part of the emblematic tradition in 1567, the year the French Protestant Georgette de Montenay published her *Cent Emblemes Chrestiens* in Paris.[86] The functional and interpretive possibilities of the emblematic genre proved to be particularly useful for religious purposes in a time

[83] For the situation in England see Watt 1991; and for Germany Dyrness 2004. Even among Catholics in the Republic, unillustrated volumes seem to have served for the instruction and comfort of the faithful, as argued by Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, 476–479.

[84] On emblem theory see Scholz 2002. Also Stevenson 2008: 152–161, esp. 156 and 157.

[85] Scholz 1986: 213–226; Caldwell 2001: 181–210; Gilman 1986: 16 and Daly 2008: 1.

[86] Religion also played a role in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century tradition of humanist emblem books in Latin derived from Alciati's example, but it did so in an a-confessional mode, a point recently made in Visser 2008: 139–167.

when God's creation—portrayable in images—was read as His second book of revelation beside His written Word.

Synopsis of Chapters

The chapters tracing developments in Dutch illustrated religious literature are preceded by a discussion in Chapter 2 of three central theological and ideological aspects of the word-image issue as they surfaced in the Republic, the purpose being to shed some light on cultural conventions of the period and to introduce the criteria on which the illustrated religious literature is assessed in chapters 3 through 6. The organization of these chapters follows developments encountered in the sources, and not external political events—such as the Peace of Munster in 1648—which presumably could have influenced the production of literature. As I will argue, the literary developments had their own dynamics, which I will relate to their historical backdrop in the last section of each chapter.

Chapter 3 describes the problematic status of religious imagery at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Illustrated Bibles were rare, and picture Bibles were only produced up to 1617. Protestant authors such as Jacob Cats, Johan de Brune and Zacharias Heyns tried different strategies to get around ideological barriers raised in the theological discussions in order to produce their emblems. Chapter 4 moves to the period between 1630 and 1650, a phase dominated by efforts made by all denominations to define their own, separate identities when it came to emblematic imagery, but with some overlap between the different groups in the production of picture Bibles. Chapter 6 examines the widespread interest in the Catholic legacy arising amongst Protestant emblematists and their audience after 1670, thanks to a new, tacit agreement on the acceptability of sharing rather than enduring the other's identity. The success of the religious emblems made by Jan Luyken, an artist of shifting denomination, serves to illustrate this development, but, as is argued here, this success came in the wake of a more liberal attitude formed in the period 1650–1670, as is discussed in Chapter 5. There were certainly limits to this process of appropriation, but as the Enlightenment set in, new possibilities arose for bridging the gap between the denominations even further, as discussed in Chapter 7. The picture Bible had, by that time, established a firm presence among all denominations, and in a society where the analogical,

emblematic way of looking at nature and the world was losing ground, the religious emblem flourished in new forms and shapes in emblem books such as those made by Adriaan Spinniker. These works indicate a new balance between the various denominations and new groups of readers who were adapting to philosophies of life other than those based solely on religion.

The epilogue is devoted to some reflections on the history as reconstructed in chapters 2 to 7, and on the dynamics between the situation in the Republic and its surrounding countries.

CHAPTER TWO

ASPECTS OF VISUAL CULTURE: WORD, IMAGE AND RELIGION

As already briefly touched upon in the previous chapter, discussions about the competitive relation between word and image were not new to early modern Western Europe, but they greatly intensified when the issue became intertwined with religious controversies between Reformers and Catholics during the Reformation.[1] Word, image and religion were indissolubly connected in the early modern era, and theological principles exerted a powerful influence over cultural practices. In this chapter, three significant cultural constraints are discussed in some detail to elucidate the ideological barriers faced by producers of illustrated religious literature in the Republic.

As recounted in the case of Willem Teellinck, the right use of religious imagery formed a focal point of discussions between Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation. Due to underlying differences in opinion on the hierarchy between word and image, it was virtually impossible to reconcile the two theologies. The Protestants assumed God's Word to be superior to imagery, although humankind is by nature promptly stimulated and amused by visual representations, which are also easily remembered. They were convinced that the distance between God and the believer could not be bridged by the human eye, a view based on texts such as Hebrews 11:1: 'faith is the evidence of things not seen'. Catholics defended the superiority of religious imagery with the argument that the visual arts stimulate the imaginative and commemorative power of the human mind in ways texts cannot, thus providing essential means for the communication between God and the believer.[2]

[1] The Christian Church had a rich history of iconoclastic disputes far before the Reformation. See for instance Barber 2002.

[2] See for a detailed analysis of these theological discussions for instance Dillenberger 1999.

Dutch sixteenth-century disputes on these issues had been dominated by Calvinist theology.[3] As has been well established, Calvin was not opposed to all visual art.[4] He proclaimed that all anthropomorphic representations of God or Jesus should be prohibited, and that images should not be used in public worship or in church. His opposition to the visual arts was—to put it simply—directed at the religious use of images: he meant to put an end to existing religious visual practices, but in the privacy of one's home one could still enjoy portraits, historical paintings, and still-life compositions.[5]

In the Republic, Protestant and Catholic attitudes towards the visual were negotiated and transformed into cultural conventions. That visual images and artifacts played a significant role in reconstructing individual and communal identities is obvious from the immense production of religious art in the Republic. However, as becomes apparent in the following chapters, the visual was looked upon with various degrees of distrust when it came to the act of religious reading. Three theological issues kept surfacing, steering and limiting authors, engravers and publishers of illustrated religious literature: the hierarchy of the senses, the role of emotions, and the ways in which God could or could not be represented in the arts.[6] I will sketch the outlines of these issues in this chapter, drawing on a number of key texts published in the Republic

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[3] As Ilja Veldman has argued, public discussions in the Republic on the word-image issue in relation to religion came to rest around 1600, presumably because Protestantism had triumphed and extremist proclamations in its defence were no longer considered necessary. See Veldman 1999: 397–421, esp. 421. Rothstein 2005 addresses the medieval Dutch roots of these issues.

[4] Most recently in Joby 2007b, and Zachman 2007. As Zachman argues, Calvin distinguished between 'living' and 'dead' images of God. Living images of God can be found in the Word of God itself and in the universe, while dead images are images created by human hands. Zachman also concluded that an irresolvable tension lies at the heart of Calvin's discussion of the living images of God: 'On the one hand, Calvin contrasts the 'dead images' that humans create, which are only the image of absent things, with the 'living images' instituted by God, […]. On the other hand, Calvin rejects the use of images in worship on the basis of the invisible nature of God, which cannot be represented in any symbol or image'. See Zachman 2007: 437–440, quotation on 439–440.

[5] See Hardy 1999: 1–16, esp. 16; and Michalski 1993: esp. 71. Landscapes, portraits and still lifes were to become the specialities of Dutch painters and engravers, be it as a direct result of Calvin's preferences or not.

[6] Also, in the sixteenth century, the process of revising and exchanging opinions on the issue of word, image and religion in the Low Countries was influenced by discussions carried out in literature. See for an analysis of the sixteenth-century situation, Crew 1978; Freedberg 1982: 133–153; Freedberg 1988: Chapter 3, and Adams 2007: 457–464.

in the first decades of the seventeenth century. As the most outspoken opposition to the illustration of religious literature was vocalized by the orthodox Dutch Reformed, the emphasis is on texts by authors from this confession.

The Hierarchy of the Senses

At the end of the fifteenth century, new devotional reading practices were introduced among Catholics as the printing press made it possible to add more and more imagery to text editions.[7] This development is apparent in the printing history of Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*. The author's own handwritten copy of this text contained no illustrations, but when handwritten copies started circulating in larger numbers, the manuscripts were enriched with illuminations. Before long, the text appeared in numerous illustrated printed editions.[8]

Due to this development, Catholic devotional reading practices increasingly relied on the use of sight rather than hearing. The introduction of images into the act of religious reading was complicated by discussions on the hierarchy of the human senses, which went back as far as Plato. Human sight was held in high esteem by Plato, but he also assumed that images indulge the passions and therefore threaten reason.[9] This line of thought was further developed by Augustine, in his theory of vision, which was based on the idea that the image of any viewed object does not merely imprint itself on the soul, but shapes and models the soul as well.[10] Augustine also believed that one could only access the invisible through the visible by training one's eye to see beyond the visible object. However, as Augustine himself recognized, there are dangers inherent in the idea of using the visible to perceive

[7] Not all (new) devotional texts were produced with imagery, however. De Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (first printed in 1548) for instance was not illustrated till 1657. See Mochizuki 2009b.

[8] See on Thomas à Kempis' own copy of the manuscript Kempis 1956; and on illustrated manuscripts of this text Kempis 2004. See for a general analysis of this development in print culture Dyrness 2004: 32–33.

[9] An overview of classical through early modern valuations of human sight is given in Clark 2007: Chapter 1.

[10] Augustine's observations are supported by recent neurological research, as argued by Morgan 2005: 96–110, esp. 97.

the invisible. If the eye was not properly trained, it would linger on the physical object and no beneficial religious effects could be expected.[11]

Another complication in the introduction of new religious reading practices was that Augustine had indeed advocated reading as one of the most important means of devoting oneself to the service of God, but reading to him was a vocal and aural activity, since the act of reading was for the most part performed out loud in his day. Listening to what was being read would give rise to mental images, stimulating the intellect and memory, Augustine maintained.[12] This activity could persist for a long period of time, and typically involved more than one reader. Listening to texts being read resulted in a different effect than reading alone and in silence, a practice that developed in the wake of the printing press, especially when the reader's imagination was given additional stimuli by visual means.[13]

The practice of reading illustrated religious books alone was still relatively new to Catholics when it came to be disputed by Reformers, who seriously questioned the prominent role of human sight in devotional practices. Hearing, according to Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, should be preferred over seeing, because God made Himself heard but not seen.[14] Traces of this line of reasoning are found in Willem Teellinck's treatise *Adam*, based on sermons preached by this Dutch Reformed minister around 1620. The hierarchy of the senses is discussed in relation to Teellinck's interpretation of Genesis 2:7 ('And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul').[15] Teellinck first discusses the creation of the human body, and the wonderful ability of the human eyes, ears and nose to absorb all that surrounds them.[16] After the Fall, however, these bodily sensations

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[11] Miles 1983: 125–142, esp. 127. Substantial discussions of Augustine and other medieval thinkers can be found in the first chapters of Dyrness 2004.

[12] Stock 1996: 2, 5, 18 and 284; Paster 2004.

[13] 'Psychologically, silent reading emboldened the reader, because it placed the source of curiosity completely under personal control'. Saenger 1999: 120–148, esp. 137.

[14] '…according to Moses: Remember: "what Jehovah spoke to you in the Valley of Horeb" [Deut. 4:15]; you heard a voice, "you did not see a body", Calvin 2006: 100–101. See also Wandel 2010: 149: according to Calvin, human eyes can see, but not perceive what is before them.

[15] The treatise was first printed in *Het eerste stuck van de wercken van Willem Teellinck* (1659). See on this matter Westerink 2002: 61, 116, 118 and 127.

[16] See for an analysis of Calvin's ideas on these issues Dyrness 2004: 62–89.

and the 'outer senses' were corrupted, and now only the 'ghemeyne sin' [the inner 'common' sense] and the 'oog der ziele' [eye of the soul] can be relied upon.[17] They are needed to transform the impressions of the 'outer senses' into sensible insights. True devotion should, according to Teellinck, ideally be indifferent to primary sensations such as taste, sight, smell, health and sleep.[18]

Of the three comprehension processes distinguished by Augustine—the corporal, spiritual and intellectual—Teellinck singled out the intellectual activities as the most important.[19] The human intellect should, according to Teellinck, be completely dedicated to the study of God's Word. To fully comprehend what He has said, one should allow the imprints of His Word to enter one's mind.[20] The human eye should therefore not be focused on whatever is visible, but on the Bible. In a prayer book titled the *Lust-hof der christelicker gebeden* (1622) [Pleasure Garden of Christian Prayers], Teellinck refers to the Bible as a mirror, which can be used to examine oneself. The readers are reminded that when they look at themselves in a mirror they should think:

> …let me rather mirror myself in the mirror of Thy Word.[21]

Teellinck's ultimate conclusion is that the act of viewing is best restricted to the reading of the Bible.

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[17] 'sy alleen Capabel bequaem ende geschickt is om in sich te ontfangen, de ghedaente van alle die dingen, die door de uyterlijcke sinnen besinnet worden; […] als voor exempel de coleuren daer mede d'ooghen sich besich houden; ofte de verscheydene stemmen, en gheluyden, daer mede d'oore sich moeyt; […] deze ghemeyne sin alleen beseft binnen in sich allerley besinnelijcke dinghen' [it [the inner sense] alone is capable of taking in all the impressions of the outer senses, such as the colors seen by the eyes and the voices and noises heard by the ears; only this inner sense can comprehend within itself all the varied sensory experiences], Teellinck 1659: esp. 6, 63, 82–83, quotation on 82.

[18] See Teellinck 1659, the posthumously printed edition of a text written by Teellinck between 1619 and 1624. See for more details Westerink 2002: 141–142, 152–154 and 167–168.

[19] See for an analysis of Augustine's ideas on the matter Dyrness 2004: 19.

[20] Teellinck 1647: 123.

[21] 'soo laet my noch veel liever, my selven spiegelen in den Spieghel dijnes woordts', in a prayer called 'Als gy in een Spieghel kijkt' [When you look into a mirror], Teellinck 1635: 11. The prayer book consists of prayers for almost every moment of the day: for the minute of waking up, of stepping out of bed, of getting dressed, etc.

The Role of Emotions

The growing habit of illustrating devotional texts among Catholics in the fifteenth and sixteenth century not only resulted in discussions on the hierarchy of the senses, but also led to reflections on the role of emotions in devotional reading practices. Catholic imagery in devotional literature was no longer solely intended to reinforce the readers' memory and comprehension, but also to evoke their emotions and to further enhance the communication between God and the faithful.[22]

Not only the Catholics were inclined to think, in line with Augustine, that believers should not shy away from emotional reading experiences; Reformers also provided powerful defences of the validity and even the desirability of ordinary human emotions and passions.[23] Calvin specifically argued that God taught us—as testified by the cry of Jesus on the cross ('My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?', Matthew 27:46)—to include emotions in our experience of faith.[24] Protestants such as Teellinck could most certainly relate to the words used by Catholics to evoke and describe these kinds of emotions. In Teellinck's last work, the *Soliloquium*, published in 1628, the yearning of the soul for unity with Jesus is articulated in words Teellinck borrowed from the *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis.[25] In contrast to the Catholics, Teellinck was of the opinion that these emotions were to be evoked by reading or listening, not by looking at images.

In accordance with the minimum attention paid to visual aids as a means to stimulate the faithful reader, the specific emotions involved in the viewing of religious prints or paintings were almost never discussed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even in Karel van Mander's popular and influential *Schilder-boeck* [Book on Painting], a didactic treatise in verse on the art of painting which van Mander

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[22] '[…] une nouvelle form de dévotion commença lentement à s'imposer à côté des formes plus officiellement traditionelles de dévotion publique, strictement liée aux célébrations liturgiques. Une 'dévotion privée', totalement individuelle, s'imposait, liée à la profondeur de la foi vécu à l'intérieur de l'âme humaine particulière, a son rapport avec Dieu et les mystères de la foi', Insolera 1996: 4.

[23] As argued in Strier 2004: 23–42. See also Rublack 2005: 157–169. Catholics and Protestants alike thus opposed the Stoic ideal of emotional balance and harmony, as argued by Stock 2001.

[24] See Calvin 2006: volume I, chapters 3, 8, 9 and 10.

[25] See for a detailed comparison of Teellinck and Thomas à Kempis, Op 't Hof 2008: 287.

considered as elevated as poetry, the issue was not addressed.[26] In general, the Anabaptist van Mander wrote quite favorably about religious art in his *Schilder-boeck*. He openly apologized for the Protestants' behavior during the breaking of images in 1566, referring to it as 'the senseless deluge of the iconoclasm' and 'the mindless iconoclasm'.[27] Although van Mander regretted the destruction of valuable pieces by Anthonis Bloklandt and Jan van Schorel, it was not for the emotional value they represented, but for the artistic loss.[28] Similarly, the Catholic masterpieces that did survive are assessed by artistic criteria. When van Mander discusses the rather unconventional engraving 'Ecce Homo' made in 1510 by Lucas van Leyden,[29] he focuses on its extraordinary composition and imposing architectural background, rather than on the emotional or devotional effect the engraving might have had on the viewer.[30] Also, when describing the expression of passions in Pieter

[26] Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* was first published in 1603–1604 and was reprinted in 1618. See Melion 1991, for a close study of van Mander's influence on Dutch culture and discourse at the time.

[27] Van Mander 1603–1604: fol. 210v ('rasende Diluvie der beeldtstorminghe') and 224v ('d'uytsinnighe beeldtstorminghe'). Translation quoted from van Mander 1994–1999: volume 1, 101 and 157. Other Dutch Protestants expressed similar apologies, see Ford 2007: 75–91.

[28] See van Mander 1603–1604: fol. 236r: '[…] maer dat te beclaghen is, veel zijn ander dinghen, t'Crucifix t'Amsterdam, de schoon deuren t'Wtrecht in S. Marien, oock een schoon Tafel ter Goude, by hem in zijnen besondersten tijdt en fleur ghedaen, werden Ao. 1566. van het ontsinnighe ghemeen ghebroken, en verbrandt, met noch veel meer fraey dinghen.' [but unfortunately many of his other works—the *Crucifixion* in Amsterdam, the beautiful shutters in St Marien in Utrecht and also a beautiful painting in Gouda made by him in his most important and flourishing period—were smashed and burned in 1566 by the senseless mob together with many more handsome works]; and fol. 254r–v: 'In den Kercken tot Delft zijn van hem geweest verscheyden heerlijcke Altaer-tafelen: onder ander ooc eene boven al uytnemende ter Goude, wesende S. Iacobi onthoofdinge. Dese schoon dinghen zijn meest door blinden ijver en onverstandighe raserije in de oproerighe Beeldtstormingen vernielt, en door Barbarische handen den ooghen der Const-lievenden naecomers berooft, soo datter weynich is overgebleven.' [In the churches of Delft there were various important altarpieces by him; and, among others, one in Gouda with a *Beheading of St James* which excels all others. These beautiful works were mostly destroyed by the blind fanaticism and ignorant frenzy during the riotous iconoclasm and robbed from the sight of the art-loving descendants by barbaric hands so that little is left]. Translation in van Mander 1994–1999: volume 1, 113 and 202.

[29] Van Leyden's unconventional approach to the subject was discussed by Jacobowitz and Stepanek 1983. In a review of their book, Craig Harbison suggested that van Leyden's later work is much more conservative because of the rising religious and iconoclastic disputes, see Harbison 1985: 332.

[30] See van Mander 1603–1604: fol. 212r: 'Het naevolghende Iaer 1510. doe hy 16. Iaer oudt was, sneedt hy den miraculeusen oft seldtsamen Ecce Homo: een dingen hem boven maten te verwonderen, dat in so weynich bejaerden Iongen so overvloedighen

van Brueghel's painting the *Massacre of the Innocents*, van Mander praises the painter's faultless technique.[31]

Hans Holbein's picture Bible *Historiarum Vetris Testamenti Icones*—referred to in the *Schilder-boeck* as a 'Bybel Figuer-boecxken in houte print' [*A little book of biblical figures in woodcut*]—was also admired by van Mander for its artistic merits. He describes his favorite woodcut as follows:

> I admire […] the one [picture] where Hiram's messenger brings a letter to Solomon: how dignified and in much more stately manner than in other modern representations Solomon sits there upon the throne—not with naked arms and a blanket around him as it is often shabbily depicted in the ancient manner made to look shabby, but in a rich, royal garment or drapery.[32]

Holbein's stylistic and compositional choices, and not the religious feelings evoked by the woodcuts, were van Mander's primary concern.

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gheest en verstandt zy gheweest, soo in't ordineren, verscheydenheyt der beelden, versieringhe der cleedingen van verscheyden volcken, als oock de heerlijcke moderne aerdighe ghebouwen, alles soo heel wel nae der perspectiven Const en maet waer ghenomen wesende.' [In the following year, 1510, when he was 16 years old, he engraved the miraculous or rather curious *Ecce Homo*—a work which leaves one exceedingly astonished that such a young boy displayed so much genius and intelligence in the composition and diversity of the figures as well as in the finery of the costumes of various people, and in the grand, distinctive, modern buildings where the art of perspective and proportion is everywhere taken into account] Translation in van Mander 1994–1999: volume 1, 107.

[31] Van Mander 1603–1604: fol. 27r: 'Van den aerdighen brueghel sonder faute/Noch in een Kinderdoodingh//Dootverwich een Moeder benout in flaute//Iae een droevich gheslacht, tot den Heraute//Om een kindts leven verbidden, aen wiene/Wel ghenoech melijden is te bespiene//maer toont s'Conings Placcaet met sinnen smertich//Datmen over geen en mach zijn barmhertich' [In a *Massacre of the Innocents* painted by the artful and faultless Bruegel, a mother is to be seen, the color of death, oppressed by weakness, as well as a grieving family, pleading with the herald for the life of the child in whom can be sufficiently discerned sympathy for the villagers but also the painful resolution to proclaim the royal decree that allows charity to no one], translation Melion 1991: 69. This section is placed in the treatise van Mander also incorporated in his *Schilder-boeck*, entitled 'Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst' [Foundations of the Noble, Free Art of Painting], in the paragraph on the 'Wtbeeldinghe der Affecten, passien, begeerlijckheden, en lijdens der Menschen' [On Figuring Human Passions, Desires, and Sorrows].

[32] 'soo verwondert my t'historiken […] daer *Hirams* bode *Salomon* eenen brief brengt, hoe heerlijck, en op een heel treflijcker maniere boven ander moderne, daer *Salomon* in zijnen Throon is sittende, niet met naeckte armen, met een deken om, oft ghelijck men die op zijn Antijcksche soo beroyt veel maeckt: maer met een rijcklijck en Coninghlijck cleedt oft laken'. Van Mander 1603–1604, fol. 223v. Translation in van Mander 1994–1999: volume 1, 153. Holbein's picture Bible was first printed in Lyon in 1538 by Melchior and Gaspard Trechsel.

Like many or perhaps even all others in the Republic at the time, he did not relate religious emotions to the use of imagery in religious literature.

Representation of the Invisible

The distrust of the role of sight in devotional practices and the indifference towards the emotional potential of religious imagery were restraining factors in the production of illustrated religious literature in the Republic at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Equally restrictive was Calvin's prohibition of the use of imagery in public worship, and of visual representations of God or Jesus. Straightforward as these prohibitions seemed, matters were complicated due to the fact that subjects Calvin thought acceptable—landscapes, still lifes, portraits—were also seen as representations of the invisible God; ever since the Middle Ages they had been associated with the idea that (elements of) nature could be perceived as God's 'second book of revelation', and that one could seek knowledge of God in His Creation.[33] This allegorical way of looking at nature and the world had made for a productive alliance with the arts and literature, drawing seemingly secular subjects into the realm of religion. In line with this idea, a Protestant aesthetic developed in the works produced by Dutch painters and engravers in the seventeenth-century. The visual was perceived as support for moral and religious teachings.[34]

In spite of these developments based on the appreciation of the visual, warnings against these visual practices had been voiced long before the Reformation. One of the main objections was that the unraveling of the visual allegories presupposed a trained viewer's eye. In the fifteenth century, Hendrik Mande, one of the leading figures of the Devotio Moderna movement, pointed out that allegorical representations of God's Creation could serve as a devotional means. One should, however, not indulge the eye with the artist's creation, since the 'onghescapen goet' [the uncreated Good [God]] should be the

[33] An exemplary case of the difficulties surrounding this issue is discussed in Stirling 2005: 244–251.

[34] As was debated among art historians, see for instance Alpers 1983, and de Jongh 1995, and one of the most recent contributions to this debate in Grijzenhout 1999, Rothstein 2005 and Sluijter 2006.

ultimate concern.[35] Similar problems were debated among Catholics in the sixteenth century, when there was a rise of naturalistic representation of objects and persons facilitated by new techniques in the visual arts (such as the use of linear perspective).[36] These techniques resulted in images that could easily mislead the viewers, and cause them to let their eyes linger too long on the objects. This fear resurfaced in later discussions on the use of religious imagery, such as the Catholic theologian Hieronymus Emser's response of 1522 to the Reformer Andreas von Karlstadt's *On the Removal of Images*:

> The more artfully images are made the more their viewers are lost in contemplation of the art and manner in which the figures have been worked […]. Indeed, many are transfixed before the pictures and admire them so much that they never reflect on the saints […]. [We should] follow the old custom and have simple pictures in the churches so that […] God and the saints would be venerated more than in this new manner which we now have.[37]

Emser was afraid that people would be swept away by the power of what they saw, and thus completely forget the real reason why they should be looking at the images.

During the Reformation these dangers were observed by the Protestants, but the habit of seeking metaphysical implications behind visual depictions of nature or reality was still encouraged. Protestants and Catholics alike invoked the harmony of Creation as evidence of God's goodness towards mankind, and natural beauty as the revelation of His divinity.[38]

Although Calvin did allow portraits, landscapes and historical scenes to be painted and displayed in the privacy of one's home, some of the Dutch Reformed authors in the Republic were even stricter on this point than Calvin had been. Teellinck, for instance, opposed

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[35] 'want die beelden die na gode ghescapen sijn, [zo]als die redelicke creaturen ende al ander ghescapen dinghen, een wech sijn tot Gode, […]; daerom dwaelt die gheest dicwijls, die alte langhe rustet op die ghescapenen dinghen, als dat [zodat] hi niet en can comen tot bescouwen dat onghescapen goet, [for the images created in the likeness of God, such as intelligent creatures, and all other created things, are a way to God […]; for this reason the mind often goes astray, which lingers so long on the created things that it cannot come to see the uncreated Good]. Quoted in Bakker 2004: 35.

[36] On the disparity between the theories of vision among theologians and the developments in the late medieval arts, see Joby 2007a: 36–44.

[37] Emser 1991: 86. Also quoted in Joby 2007a: 36.

[38] See for an overview of these developments Bakker 2004: Chapter 2.

all forms of visual representation, whether of the visible or the invisible, whether in public or in private: he rejected representations of the suffering Christ as discussed in the previous chapter but he also condemned portraits. He ended his collaboration with the publisher Marten Jansz Brandt, with whom he had been working since the death of his publisher van de Vivere in 1622, because Brandt had taken the liberty of including a portrait of Teellinck on the title page of a reprint of the *Den spieghel der zedicheyt* [Mirror of Good Morals] in 1626.[39] Teellinck perhaps feared accusations of vanity, because the way in which he was portrayed might have suggested to readers that he was presenting himself as a model of good morals (see Fig. 4).

But he also had fundamental concerns with regard to the issue of 'verbeeldingh' [imagination]:

> because the artist uses his imagination to cast things into all sorts of forms, mixing colors like white, black, red this way and that, expanding and reducing sizes, widths, lengths, and depths one way or another, mingling smell and taste this way and that, and thus, by himself, produces such curious new works and objects.[40]

There lies a danger in the application of the human imagination: the inner, intellectual interpretation can be disturbed by the imagination, which, like the senses, was corrupted by the Fall.[41] This is why Teellinck urged his readers to avoid any 'dishonest forms of arts, visualizations, stage plays, paintings and everything else which is despicable'.[42]

Teellinck might have been extreme in his opinions, but he was not an isolated figure at the time. He joined forces with publishers who were willing to sell his works—all of them without any illustrations—and was also supported by other authors who held the same opinion. This becomes apparent from a series of treatises on the 'image tourism'

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[39] The first (unillustrated) edition of *Den spieghel der zedicheyt* had been published in 1620 by van de Vivere. See Op 't Hof 2008: 266, and 349–353.

[40] 'daer mede dat hy de dinghen giet in alle vormen, de couleuren wit, swardt, roodt, soo en soo vermengt; de grootten, de breedten, de lengten, de diepten sus en soo verruymt ende in treckt de reucke, de smake, so en soo door malkanderen slaet, en daer uyt van sich voor-stelt sulcke rariteyt van nieuwe wercken, ende dingen.'. Teellinck 1659: 101. See on the fear of vanity: Stronks 2000: 238–255. It was only at the end of the seventeenth century that the portraying of Dutch Reformed ministers became an accepted practice, see Broekman and Bloemendal 2008: 280–303, esp. 292.

[41] Teellinck 1659: 103–105. An opinion also found in the theology of Calvin and the Puritans, see Dyrness 2004.

[42] 'oneerlijcke konsten, gramaigien, verthooningen, schilderijen, ende al wat verfoejelijk is'. Teellinck 1659: 104.

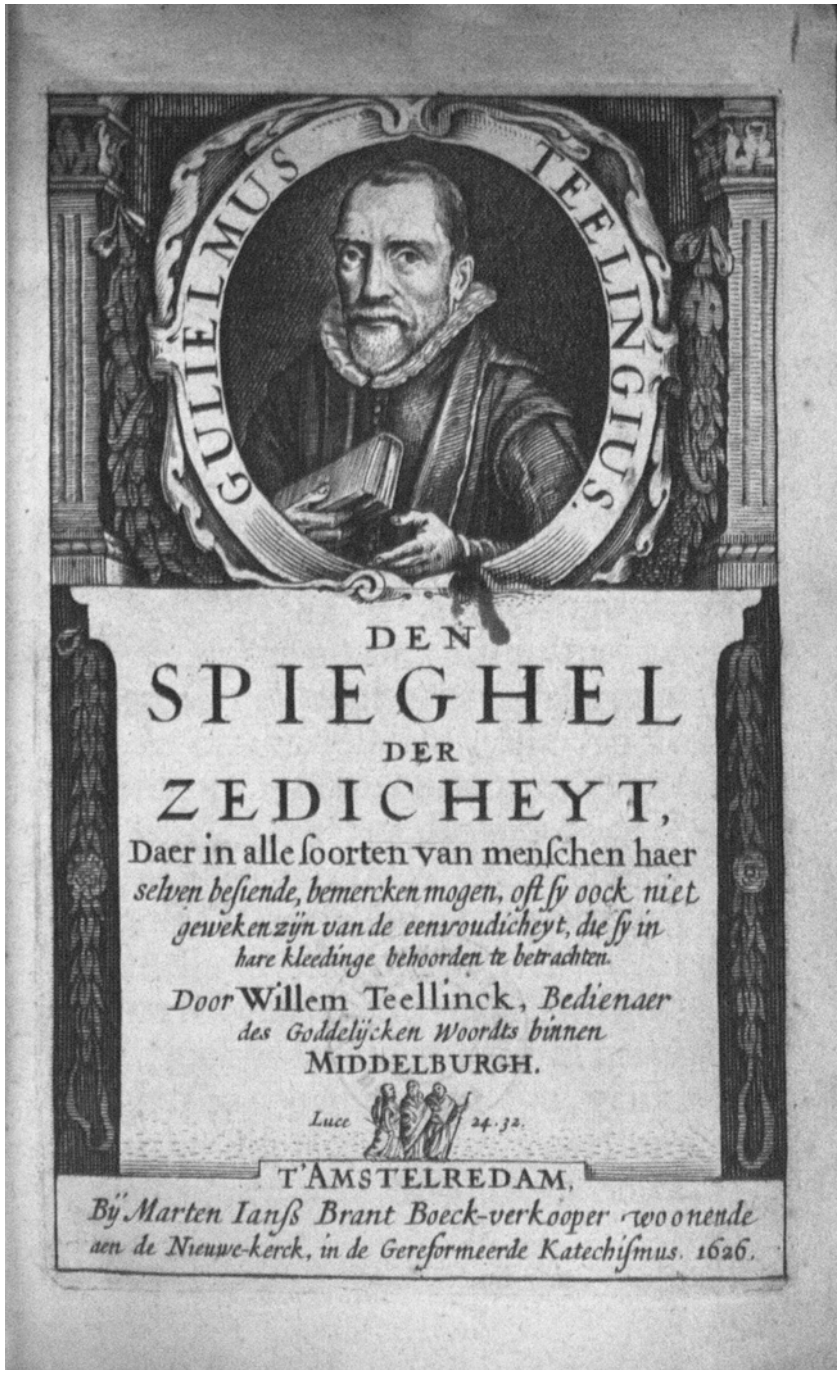

Fig. 4 Willem Teellinck, *Den spieghel der zedicheyt.* Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1626.

from the Republic to the Southern Netherlands, published between 1609–1611.[43] First in the series was Teellinck's own treatise *Timotheus of ghetrouwe waerschouwinge tegen het verdrietelick begapen der affgoden*, already briefly mentioned in the previous chapter. An almost instant reaction to Teellinck's treatise was published in Antwerp in 1609 by the Jesuit Joannes David, titled *Vry-gheleyde tot ontlastighe van conscientie om de catholijcke kercken, beelden, ende godsdienst te gaen bekijcken* [License to gaze at the Catholic churches, imagery and worship with freedom of conscience]. David's response was followed in 1611 by Teellinck's *Ontdeckinge des vermomden Balaam* [Unmasking of the disguised Balaam], in which Teellinck rejected David's line of reasoning point by point, while expanding his criticism to the Catholic use of music in services.[44] Again, David reacted promptly, writing *Postillon van den Roskam* [Carrier of a Satirical Message], published in Antwerp in 1611.

The same year brought the publication of the final treatise in the series, titled *Balade aen Divoda Jansz, alias Johannes Davids* [Ballad to Divoda Jansz, alias Johannes David], written by Hendrik Cannenburgh, member of the chamber of rhetoric in Middelburg. Cannenburgh admitted that he was not a minister like Teellinck, but he was nevertheless convinced that his support could make a difference. His arguments derived from Teellinck's example: God's Word alone needs to be taken into account, according to Cannenburgh: 'Because nowhere in God's Word have I found the instruction to make a fool of oneself by worshipping a piece of wood.'[45] The fact that these statues are man-made, and should be considered products of the human imagination, makes them useless in Cannenburgh's view:

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[43] See for more bibliographical details on this series of publications Op 't Hof 2008: 116–127.

[44] Teellinck compares David to Balaam, a diviner in the Book of Numbers (22–24), who attempted to curse the Israelites, but produced blessings instead of curses. With regard to music, Teellinck admits that within the Dutch Reformed Church the Psalms are not sung 'naer de volle conste der musijcke' [after the accomplished art of music]. But, why are the Catholics of the opinion that they should be? In the Bible the apostle Paul tells us (Eph. 5:19) that psalms and religious songs need to be recited; but did the apostle send us to music school in order to fulfil this duty? ['hoe meynt ghy dat hyse dan naer de musijckschole gesonden heeft?'], Teellinck 1611b: 479.

[45] 'Maer ick vinde gheensins in Godes woort verhaelt/Datmen tot een stuck houts, hier ende daer moet druylen [de gek moet steken]'. Cannenburgh 1611: fol. Aiiir.

> God's sacred Word will surely be victorious
> In spite of all the fables, false and numerous,
> That justify your worshipping of images.
> But as they're fables, human fabrications, we regard
> Those idols all as wood and straw, as stubble, nothing more.[46]

The reader is then urged not to indulge in Catholic imagery, or in any imagery at all. Cannenburgh provided his readers with an exact copy of Teellinck's opinions on the matter.

There were others, even within the Dutch Reformed Church, who were slightly more tolerant in their views on the use of imagery. The Dutch minister Vincent Meusevoet, for example, published a treatise titled the *Waarschouwing teeghen de Afgooderye in de laatste Tyden* [Warning against the Idolatry of the Last Times] in 1605, a translation of the polemical *A Warning Against the Idolatrie of the Last Times* (Cambridge: Iohn Legat, 1601) by William Perkins. The use of religious imagery in services and churches was clearly rejected by Meusevoet: images of Mary and the saints, the communion wafer, the acts of churchmen such as bishops, the cross of Jesus and His crown of thorns were all—for different reasons—on his list of improper images.[47] The cross, for instance, could not be hung in a Dutch Reformed church building since it was 'an instrument in the death of Jesus'.[48] Man-made images or statues of God and Jesus were as unacceptable to Meusevoet as they were to Teellinck: 'because our only and perfect

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[46] 'Des Heeren heylich woort, d'overhant houwen sal/Spijt al de fablen valsch, die veel zijn int ghetal/Daer door den Beelden-dienst van u lien wordt bewesen/Dan tis menschlick ghedicht, derhalven wy die al/Houden voor hout en stroy, ia stoppelen mispresen.'. Cannenburgh 1611: fol. Bir.

[47] The treatise was published together with Meusevoet's translation of Perkins' *A Reformed Catholike*, and published by Jan Evertsz. Cloppenburch in Amsterdam in 1605. Meusevoet came from a Flemish Calvinist family that had fled to Norwich as religious refugees. He was a prolific translator of Pietistic and Puritan writing. Working as a minister in the small Dutch town of Schagen, he translated some thirty of Perkins' works into Dutch in the first decades of the seventeenth century, usually adding an introduction of his own to his translations, see Cunningham and Grell 2000: 67–68 and Schoneveld 1983: 222, and Frijhoff 2003: 65–105, esp. 102. And Op 't Hof 1984: 56–60, esp. 56. The booklet *A Reformed Catholike*, also translated by Meusevoet, was Perkins' most irenic work; it was first translated by Everard Booth a year earlier, see Broeyer 1995: 108–115. See for a detailed analysis of Perkins' text and opinions Dyrness 2004: 144–148, and Hamling 2007.

[48] 'een instrument des doots Christi'; quoted in a reprint of Meusevoet's translation, part of the collected volume from Perkins 1615: 585.

Savior is changed into an ornamental Christ by human fabrications'.[49] He rejected the Catholic claim that 'union with God' can be achieved through worshipping images of Him: since God Himself is not present in these images, unity with Him cannot be found in gazing at them.[50]

Unlike Teellinck, Meusevoet concluded that biblical stories could be represented in images. These, he maintained, should not be on display in the churches, and images of God or Jesus should not be included in these illustrations. In Bible illustrations 'only such images as are sometimes used as signs of God's presence' were acceptable.[51] By this Meusevoet most likely meant he approved of depicting angels, or the three men visiting Abraham who, according to the Bible, represented God's presence on earth.

In general, Meusevoet acknowledged that the problem lay not so much in the images themselves, as in the way they were perceived by the viewers. He admitted that in the early churches of Rome Christian images were on display, and that they 'in all likelihood were invented to represent not the persons of men, but mysteries after the maner of Emblems. […] S. Christopher, who is indeede a meere fiction; was in former times nothing else but a representation of the life of a Christian man; as the very name declares'.[52] These images were thus to be considered as 'emblems' or, in the terminology of Johannes Möller, the Dutch minister quoted in the previous chapter, as 'vergesochte beelden' [far-fetched images], which demanded all of the viewer's attention to arrive at a proper interpretation of the representation of the invisible. The proper use of the religious imagery was thus as much the responsibility of its producer as it was of its consumer.

From this brief overview of the theological positions on the word-image issue and their implications for the act of religious reading in the Republic, we can conclude that the visual culture in which Dutch

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[49] 'overmits dat sy onsen eenighen ende volmaeckten Verlosser verkeert in eenen versierden Christum door menschelijcke verdichtinghen'. Perkins 1615: 575.

[50] 'eene eenicheyt met Godt'. Perkins 1615: 585.

[51] 'sulcke sichtbare verschyningen, die somtyds gheweest hebben tekenen van Gods tegenwoordicheyt, worden uytgedruckt'. Perkins 1615: 576.

[52] Perkins 1601: 104–105. Here Meusevoet diverges from Perkins' original text, by translating 'mysteries after the maner of Emblems' as 'verborgentheden na de maniere van vertooningen' [mysteries after the manner of visual representations]. The term 'Emblem' is not used by Meusevoet in this sentence, but the word 'Emblemata' is printed in the margin with the effect that the term is emphasized more than in the original text of Perkins. See Perkins 1615: 598.

authors worked granted some opportunity to use imagery in religious works. Their poetic freedom was, however, restricted and steered by theological and ideological discussions. In the following chapters I will analyze the production of Dutch illustrated religious literature against the backdrop of this ideological framework.[53]

[53] Working within an analytical framework described in Rose 2007.

PART TWO

BOUNDARIES

CHAPTER THREE

RESTRICTIONS AND SENSIBILITIES, 1600–1630

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, new habits with regard to the illustration of religious literature were established by publishers, engravers and authors in the Republic. The most characteristic feature of these new conventions was that they differed rather sharply from practices in the Southern Netherlands. The development of separate religious printing cultures had begun in the sixteenth century, when Bibles intended for the Dutch Protestant market were no longer illustrated, while Bibles produced for the Southern Netherlands retained their pictorial additions. Another difference came about when new, specifically Catholic emblematics emerged in Antwerp after the city was captured by the Spanish in 1585, a development that left no imprint whatsoever on emblem books published in the North between 1600 and 1630. In the following, I will briefly outline the Antwerp production of religious imagery before focusing on the practices that evolved in the Republic.

Illustrated Bibles and Picture Bibles from Antwerp

During much of the sixteenth century, Antwerp had been the main supplier of Bible illustrations for the Low Countries. Most of these illustrations served as visualizations and explanations of biblical texts.[1] Before 1550, they were used in many Dutch Bible translations printed in Antwerp: for instance, in the Lutheran Bible by Jacob Liesveldt (first printed in 1526), and in the unauthorized Catholic Bible by Willem Vorsterman (first printed in 1528) (see Fig. 5).[2]

[1] As Bart Rosier concluded in Rosier 1997: volume I, 3.

[2] Vorsterman's seemingly Catholic translation also had Lutheran aspects, as argued in Rosier 1997: volume I, 14–23.

Fig. 5 Willem Vorsterman, *Den Bibel: Tgeheele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament*. Antwerpen: Willem Vorsterman, 1528, fol. diir.

In Vosterman's Bible, as well as in later, authorized Catholic editions such as the Louvain Bible and the Moerentorf Bible (in print from respectively 1548 and 1599 onward), texts and images were often mingled, a layout in which the word did not seem to prevail over the image.

Bible illustrations were also found in sixteenth-century picture Bibles where far less text accompanied the images. Among those picture Bibles, Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus veteris et novi testamenti* (first printed in 1579), with engravings after designs by Maarten van Heemskerck and Maarten Vos, became most popular.[3]

On Christophe Plantin's initiative, some important innovations were brought to the genre of the picture Bible in the 1590s.[4] In this decennium, Plantin produced Jérome Nadal's picture Bible *Evangelicae historiae imagines*—mentioned in Chapter 1—as well as the trilingual picture Bible *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum. Images et Figures de la Bible. Beelden ende Figueren wt den Bybel*, published under a false name and date.[5] The plates for this volume were made by Pieter van der Borcht. The author of the texts was Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt, also called Hiël, an Anabaptist with strong sympathies for the spiritual approach to faith, and a member of the 'Family of Love', like Plantin.[6]

In the *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum*, Hiël propagated a spiritual reading of the Bible, to be enhanced by the use of images. Van der Borcht's plates did not seem to facilitate the intended adjustment in reader attitude: they contained no allegorical or symbolic elements which could have triggered a different reading of the biblical text, but gave a realistic impression of the biblical stories they depicted.[7] Although they did not differ significantly from other explanatory Bible illustrations made in Antwerp at the time, they needed to be viewed differently, as Hiël explained in the preface to the *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum*. His purpose was to teach people about the essence of God's

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[3] The actual engraving itself was done by the Wierix brothers, among others, as discussed in van der Coelen 1998: 120 and 125.

[4] See on Christophe Plantin's pioneering role in the production and distribution of books also Bowen and Imhof 2008.

[5] The exact dates of its conception and publication are uncertain. Plantin probably started working on this picture Bible during the period after he had left Antwerp to work in Leiden, from 1583 till 1585. The definitive, complete edition of the *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum* did not appear until the early 1590s, when Plantin's son-in-law Raphelengius published it under a false date and name, as argued in Dekoninck 1999: 97.

[6] See for more details de la Fontaine Verwey 1976: 219–271.

[7] Also according to Dekoninck 1999: 107.

spirit, and about the oneness of people's souls with God. Studying the images was supposed to help the readers realize that God's spirit could enter into them, bringing about their rebirth.[8]

Hiël's views on the spiritual reading of the Bible were rather eccentric and unorthodox.[9] In a plea for wider acceptance of these ideas, he urged his readers to look beyond the dogmatic disagreements dividing the churches. In this preface of the *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum*, Hiël stated that he wanted all Christians to be united in a spiritual—pious, non-confessional—movement, in accordance with the irenic ideal that all Christians should be united in the imitation of Christ.[10]

In Antwerp, the production of picture Bibles came to a halt during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Series of prints with illustrations of biblical stories were still bound and sold as books, but no new initiatives were taken. The production of Catholic illustrated Bibles did not experience such a setback, but the real innovations occurred in the field of the religious emblematics.

Religious Emblems from Antwerp

At about the same time that Hiël and Plantin brought innovations to the concept of the picture Bible in the 1590s, a drastic change was taking place in the religious emblem. Religious emblematics did not immediately acquire their own iconography in 1567, the year the emblematic genre took a religious turn with the publication of Georgette de Montenay's *Cent Emblemes Chrestiens* in Paris.[11] De Montenay's imagery derived from existing secular iconographic traditions, and the same approach was initially also employed in Antwerp publications such as the *Mikrokósmos. Parvus Mundus*, a religious emblem book made by

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[8] See for a more detailed analysis of Hiël's preface Hamilton 1981: 271–301, esp. 276; and on Hiël's intentions of transforming terrestrial into spiritual sight see Melion 2009b: 57–62, esp. 57.

[9] The secrecy surrounding the publication of the *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum* can most likely be attributed to the extreme nature of Hiël's views, see van der Coelen 1998: 160.

[10] 'prenant beaucoup plus d'esgard à la consolation de 1'essence divine, qu'aux ministeres figuratifs. Ainsi faisant le Lecteur en usera (pour son salut & la gloire de Dieu) au mesme Esprit à quoy elles sont divulguées; s'avoir est, pour parvenir à la nouvelle vie en Christ, ce qui est le sens & l'intention de Dieu'. Quoted from Dekoninck 1999: 126.

[11] De Montenay's volume contained one hundred militantly anti-Catholic Christian emblems, and was dedicated to Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, a well-known supporter of Calvinistic ideas in France; see for more details on the origins of de Montenay's imagery Matthews Grieco 1994: 793–871.

Gerard de Jode and Laurens van Haecht in 1579. The *picturae* of this volume showed scenes from classical mythology which were given a religious interpretation in the accompanying texts consisting of biblical quotes and explanatory verses.

A gradual shift towards the development of specifically religious imagery for the emblematic genre was brought about by the series of eighteen cardiomorphic prints entitled 'Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum' [The Sacred Heart of Jesus devoted to the Believer], printed in Antwerp around 1586. These prints were created by the Wierix brothers and commissioned by the Jesuit Order.[12] Here the image of the heart represents the believer, as well as his or her relation to God. The affective power of this image was meant to engage the viewers' senses, intellect and spirit in a growing awareness of their actions.[13] In the Wierix prints, Christ is shown preparing and protecting the believer's heart, a place where the love and grace of God can be received (see Fig. 6).

The heart thus becomes a locus of personal contemplation and self-improvement, and the dwelling place for Christ.[14]

The innovation of the Wierixes' approach consisted in the cryptic nature of the pictorial designs. In the terminology of the Dutch minister Johannes Möller, quoted in Chapter 1, this imagery can be characterized as 'vergesocht' [far-fetched]—and thus marks a significant departure from the prevailing practice of illustrating biblical stories as literally as possible.[15] To fully comprehend the *picturae*, the viewer needed the assistance of the accompanying texts; these prints therefore met all of the requirements of the emblematic genre.[16]

The example set by the Wierix prints inspired Joannes David, mentioned in Chapter 2, member of the Antwerp Jesuit Order, to create the first Jesuit emblem book, titled *Veridicus Christianus* [The True Christian] in 1601. Textual expositions all started with a question, but for the most part consisted of long, elaborate answers. The plates for

[12] The Wierix brothers were inspired by late medieval devotional images designed to evoke the viewer's sensory responses, as argued in Mochizuki 2005: 137–162, esp. 147.

[13] Smith 2002: 8.

[14] See Sargent 2007: 102–114, esp. 113 and Guiderdoni-Bruslé 2002: 35–54, esp. 41.

[15] In the Southern Netherlands, emblematic imagery and Bible illustrations were sometimes also integrated, as in Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (1593). See for more details Dekoninck 1999: 118–119.

[16] The Wierix prints were integrated into religious emblematics when they became part of works such as Etienne Luzvic's *Cor Deo Devotum* […] (Antwerpen: Hendrik Aertssens, 1628), and Adriaan Poirters' *Het heyligh herte ver-eert aen alle godt-vrvghtighe herten voor eenen niev-iaer* (Antwerp: Cornelis Woons, 1659).

Fig. 6 Anton Wierix, print from the series *Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum*, as reproduced in Etienne Luzvic, *Cor Deo Devotum* […]. Antwerpen: Hendrik Aertssium, 1628, 104.

these editions were most likely designed by Theodoor Galle. Together, his prints for the *Veridicus Christianus* constituted an intriguing series of images that were at one and the same time allegorical, hieroglyphic and realistic in nature. Difficult but rewarding to decipher, they set a standard for the imagery in Jesuit and Catholic emblematics.[17]

In this particular print, for example, the consequences of both good and bad behavior are portrayed in a single illustration (see Fig. 7).

The first book of David's *Veridicus Christianus* is based on the idea that the reader should turn to Jesus for help and advice, rather than to magicians, fortune-tellers, astrologists and palm readers.[18] In the book's closing section, entitled *Rolle der Deugdsaemheydt* [The Role of Virtue], Jesus is no longer presented as a guide but as an example to the reader. On its title page, the image of Jesus on the cross draws most of the viewer's attention because it appears twice: at the top of the *pictura* as well as in the work-in-progress by the artist at the lower left of the engraving. In the accompanying text, two Latin quotes point out the importance of imitating Christ (see Fig. 8).[19]

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[17] As argued in Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 296, and Waterschoot 1996: 451–468.

[18] 'Dat ick dit boeck den naem *Christelycken Waerseggher* hebbe ghegeven, reden is dese: Omdat nu de menschen soo geneyght zijn om raedt en daedt te versoecken van hem, die de ghesworen vyandt Christi ende der Christenen is: dat is, vanden boosen geest, in sijn ellendige slaefsche dienaers, en dienaressen, Toovenaers, Waer-seggers, Geborte-lesers [sic], Fortuyn-seggers, Handbesienders, ende sulcke verduyvelde menschen. […] Als-men dat nu soo tot vragen ende onder-soecken gheyneyght is, ende om in alle tegenheydt oft noodt, tot de loghenachtighe Waersegghers te loopen: soo hebb; ick desen boeck den naem van *Christelycke waerseggher* willen gheven: op dat men gherustelijck hem toegae, ende vrij vraghe, sulcks als-men weten oft hebben wilt' [The reason for giving this book the title 'Christian Soothsayer' is that people are now inclined to seek the advice of the sworn enemy of Christ and Christians, that is, the evil spirit, in his wretched, slavish servants, namely magicians, soothsayers, astrologists, palm readers, and other such devilish people. […] Since people have the inclination to seek out answers to questions, and to turn to fortune-tellers in times of adversity or need, I thought it wise to name this book 'Christian Soothsayer', to let them know they can safely turn to it and freely ask what they wish to know or receive], David 1603: fol. **3v–**4r.

[19] 'Christiani nomen ille frustra sortitur, qui Christum minime imitatur' [One who does not imitate Jesus is a Christian only in name]; and, from the Vulgate: 'Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God' (Hebrews 12:2). *Rolle der deugdsaemheydt*, final section of David 1603: [351]. The scenes from the course of Jesus' life painted by the artists on this title page include the feeding of the 5000, Jesus as a child in the temple, Jesus carrying the cross, the temptations, the transfiguration, the betrayal, the triumphal entry, and the changing of water into wine in Cana.

QVIS SIT CLAMOR ILLE, PECCATORVM CLAMANTIVM. 30.
A
B
C
D
Quis ſeſe hic Clamor cælo illetabilis effert?
Flagitium execrandũ oculis Diuumq; hominumq;.
Welck is dat groot misbaer, en roep, van sulck beclaghen?
De boosheyt groot, en swaer onrecht; niet om verdraghen.
Que fait, ie vous prie, Le peché qui crié? A il ſentiment?
Il cri par nature, Lors que ſon ordure, Put enormement.

Fig. 7 Plate 30, Joannes David, *Christeliicken waerseggher*. Antwerpen: Jan Moerentorf, 1603.

ROLLE DER
DEVGDSAEMHEYDT:
Tot naer-volghinghe Chriſti op den
Chriſtelijcken Waerseggher dienende.
ASPICIENTES IN AVCTOREM FIDEI. HEB. XII.
Chriſtiani nomen ille fruſtra ſortitur, qui
Chriſtum minime imitatur. D. Auguſt. de ver. Chriſt.

Fig. 8 Title page from *Rolle der deugdsaemheydt*, final section of Joannes David, *Christeliicken waerseggher*. Antwerpen: Jan Moerentorf, 1603, [351].

Deciphering the image's meaning with the help of the texts takes some effort on the part of the reader: David's advice and guidance were not easily obtained.[20]

David's *Veridicus Christianus* was first published in Latin by Jan Moretus at the Plantin workshop, and was intended for a wide, European market. The Latin edition was soon followed by a Dutch one, titled *Christeliicken Waerseggher* [The Christian Soothsayer], in 1603.[21] David's volumes were the starting point of a varied and rich production of Catholic religious emblem books. The genre was favored by the Jesuits for devotional as well as didactic purposes.[22] Catholic authors outside the Jesuit Order also contributed to its success: Otto Vaenius' *Amoris Divini Emblemata* [Emblems of Divine Love], published in 1615, bore the traces of both humanistic practices and Catholic ideas, and was based on the secular tradition of love emblems. An important subgenre of the Catholic production was formed by the so-called heart emblematics, with Benedictus van Haeften's *Schola Cordis* [School of the Heart], published in 1629, its earliest and foremost representative.[23]

The iconography of these Catholic emblem books was enriched almost every time a new subgenre was born. The representation of divine love as *amor divinus*—a cherub with a halo—was introduced by Otto Vaenius when he reworked his collection of secular love emblems titled *Amorum Emblemata* into a religious variant as *Amoris Divini Emblemata*. This type of representation, with guardian angels and the Christ- child, was indebted to a devotional context already so familiar to readers that Vaenius was able to introduce *amor divinus* without any authorial comment.

Another stimulus to the iconography of the Catholic emblem was given by the engraver Boetius a Bolswert in Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* [Pious Desires] in 1624. A Bolswert transformed the *pictura* to an even larger extent from a carrier of meaning into an expression of emotion, thus supporting Hugo's meditative purposes.[24] The

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[20] As Blanchard concluded: '…que la connaissance de soi est analogue au déchiffrement d'une figure, et que ces deux procédés sont des visions en énigme. […] Les âmes et les images symboliques sont des miroirs de Dieu', Blanchard 2005: 193.

[21] Some copies of the first Dutch edition have the title page in an earlier state with the date 1602. See for more bibliographical details Meeus 2000: 228–239, esp. 235; and Daly and Dimler 2002: 161; and Adams, Rawles and Saunders 1999–2002: volume 2, 403.

[22] As concluded in Porteman 2000: 178–196, esp. 181.

[23] See on this typification of Vaenius' emblems Visser 2007: 33–48.

[24] As concluded in Porteman 2006: 162.

newness of the illustrations in the *Pia Desideria* consisted in their emphasis on human feelings and reactions to God, not by presenting Wierix-style visualizations of the heart, but by depicting the soul of the believer as a little girl. Hugo paid some attention to thoughts and feelings aroused by worldly temptations, but his main focus is on the soul's feelings towards God, her search for God's love, and the communication between God and the soul.

Hugo's emblems aim to engage the viewer's senses, especially his or her visual capacities. The reader is encouraged to take a close look at the images, and is frequently instructed on how to view them in order to arrive at the invisible truth they represent. Hugo immediately brings up various aspects of the theme of 'seeing' in the programmatic opening emblem of the *Pia Desideria*. The relationship between the reader and God is visualized in the *pictura* by arrows rising from the human heart to God's ears and eye, representing His Presence:

The accompanying *subscriptio* explains how an actor lurks in every human being (thus revealing the meaning of the mask positioned on the left in the *pictura*):

> O, how often the mind, as an actor, sends out false signals,
> while the eyes and facial expression contradict one's state of mind.[25]

Only God can see through the false appearances of every human being. The eye is also the central focus of the following emblem. The *pictura* shows the soul, walking through a dark night, guided by *amor divinus* holding a lamp.

The soul is frightened by the darkness but realizes that when 'in alien territory' she should rely upon her (spiritual) eyes and their observations:

> Woe, as often as the image of that night comes to me,
> So often also does dark night advance threateningly on my mind. […]
> For what should reason, what should focused study do,
> The twosome [the eyes] that the soul in alien territory has as its guides?
> A larger pain it is to have eyes when it is not given to use them,
> Than not to have had eyes at all to use.[26]

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[25] 'O quoties fictas animus gerit histrio partes//Et pugnant animo frons, oculique suo!'. Hugo 1624: fol. **6v.

[26] 'Heu, quoties subit illius mihi noctis imago//Nox animo toties ingruit atra meo!/[…]/Nam quid agat ratio, quid agat studiosa voluntas//Quas habet, vt geminos mens peregrina duces?/Maior, habere oculos, dolor est, vbi non datur vti//Quàm, quibus vtaris, non habuisse oculos.', Hugo 1624: 1. Translated by Gerard Huijing.

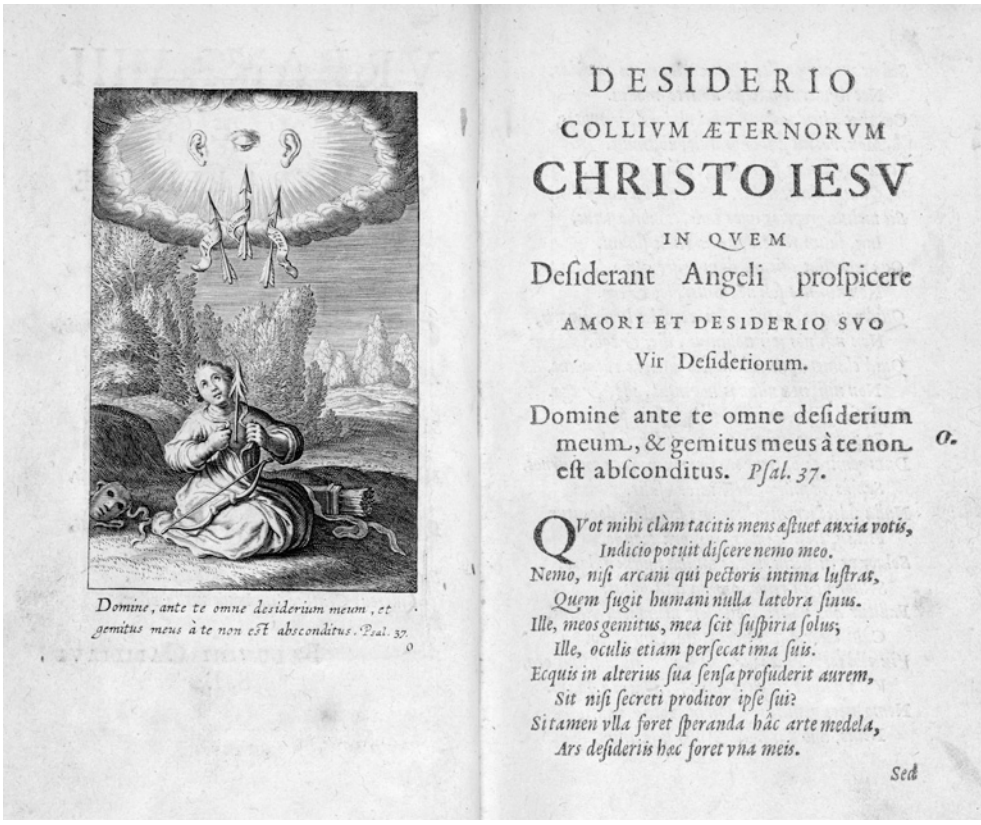
Domine, ante te omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus à te non est absconditus. Psal. 37.
DESIDERIO
COLLIVM ÆTERNORVM
CHRISTO IESV
IN QVEM
Desiderant Angeli prospicere
AMORI ET DESIDERIO SVO
Vir Desideriorum.
Domine ante te omne desiderium meum, & gemitus meus à te non est absconditus. Psal. 37.
Quot mihi clàm tacitis mens æstuet anxia votis,
Indicio potuit discere nemo meo.
Nemo, nisi arcani qui pectoris intima lustrat,
Quem fugit humani nulla latebra sinus.
Ille, meos gemitus, mea scit suspiria solus;
Ille, oculis etiam persecat ima suis.
Ecquis in alterius sua sensa profuderit aurem,
Sit nisi secreti proditor ipse sui?
Si tamen vlla foret speranda hâc arte medela,
Ars desideriis hæc foret vna meis.
Sed

Fig. 9 *Pictura* 'Domine ante te omne desiderium meum' [O Lord, all my desire is before you], in Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria*. Antwerpen: Hendrick Aertssens, 1624, fol. **6v.

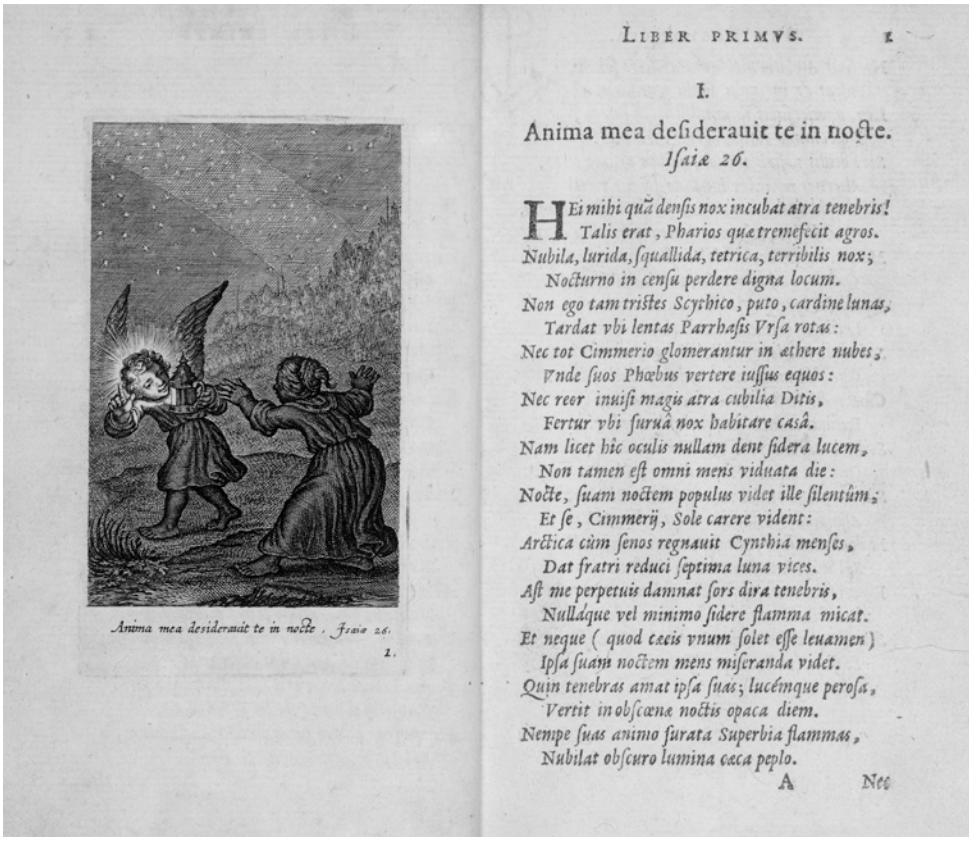
Anima mea desiderauit te in nocte . Isaiæ 26.
1.
LIBER PRIMVS. 1
I.
Anima mea desiderauit te in nocte.
Isaiæ 26.
HEi mihi quã densis nox incubat atra tenebris!
Talis erat, Pharios quæ tremefecit agros.
Nubila, lurida, squallida, tetrica, terribilis nox;
Nocturno in censu perdere digna locum.
Non ego tam tristes Scythico, puto, cardine lunas,
Tardat vbi lentas Parrhasis Vrsa rotas:
Nec tot Cimmerio glomerantur in æthere nubes,
Vnde suos Phœbus vertere iussus equos:
Nec reor inuisi magis atra cubilia Ditis,
Fertur vbi furuâ nox habitare casâ.
Nam licet hic oculis nullam dent sidera lucem,
Non tamen est omni mens viduata die:
Nocte, suam noctem populus videt ille silentûm;
Et se, Cimmerij, Sole carere vident:
Arctica cùm senos regnauit Cynthia menses,
Dat fratri reduci septima luna vices.
Ast me perpetuis damnat sors dira tenebris,
Nullâque vel minimo sidere flamma micat.
Et neque (quod cæcis vnum solet esse leuamen)
Ipsa suam noctem mens miseranda videt.
Quin tenebras amat ipsa suas; lucémque perosa,
Vertit in obscœnæ noctis opaca diem.
Nempe suas animo furata Superbia flammas,
Nubilat obscuro lumina cæca peplo.
A Nec

Fig. 10 *Pictura* 'Anima mea desiderauit te in nocte' [My soul has desired you in the night], in Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria* (1624). Antwerpen: Hendrick Aertssens, 1624, facing page 1.

This realization eventually leads the soul to God, because she now knows where to turn her eyes for salvation, as she exclaims over and over again in the remaining emblems, for instance in number thirty-four:

> His image walks always before my eyes,
> It is there, right before my eyes, although the distance is greater.[27]

The emphases on the eye and on sight underlined Hugo's message that the images presented in the *picturae* should be replaced by mental images. They offered aid to the imagination, thus serving as stimuli for the meditative process.[28]

In summary, two main types of illustrated religious literature were produced in the Southern Netherlands in the first quarter of the seventeenth century: illustrated Bibles and religious emblems. A significant difference between the two genres was the degree of complexity of their imagery. Emblematic imagery presupposed substantial intellectual activities on the part of the viewers, and also aimed to evoke emotional responses.[29] In the *picturae,* viewers saw themselves (or rather, their souls) portrayed as a little girl, or as a heart, while in the biblical prints they had to engage themselves in the image without a clear invitation to identify with what they saw. Depictions of the suffering Christ in Bible illustrations obviously related to viewers since His suffering was endured for the sake of all believers, but such images carried less of an emotional charge because viewers—or rather, their representations—were not present in the depicted scenes.[30]

Illustrated Bibles and Picture Bibles in the Republic

In contrast with the Southern Netherlandish production, the overwhelming majority of the Bibles printed in the Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were not illustrated. Halfway into the sixteenth century, Protestant printers had already fled from Antwerp

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[27] '*Illius ante oculos mihi semper oberrat imago//Ante oculos, quamuis longiùs absit, adest*', Hugo 1624: 298. Translated by Gerard Huijing.

[28] In doing so, Hugo emphasized the visual even more than was generally the case in Jesuit teaching, see Porteman 2000: 178–196, especially 181.

[29] See for detailed analyses Melion 2009a.

[30] See Morgan 1998 for some other cases in which representations of the viewers in religious images were used to enhance the images' effects.

to produce the first unillustrated Biestkens and Liesveldt Bibles for the Dutch market in Emden. When more and more Dutch cities chose the side of Protestantism, Protestant Bibles were produced in the Republic itself. Editions of the Biestkens and Liesveldt Bibles remained without illustrations, and only a dozen of the over one hundred editions of the Deux-Aes Bibles printed in the Republic between 1581 and 1633 contained pictorial material—not the usual illustrations of biblical stories, but maps or explanatory illustrations of the Temple and the Tabernacle, which were not inserted at various points in the text, but bound together as a separate section in the back of the book.[31]

The new Dutch Reformed States Bible, in production from 1637 onward, would also remain without illustrations: the concept of an illustrated Bible would never be adopted by Protestants in the Republic. The biblical text, written by God's Spirit, could, as the only road to genuine faith, simply not be mingled with imagery. Individual buyers could add sets of biblical prints to the specific copy of the Bible they bought, but these images were never integrated into the biblical texts and would never become a standard addition to Dutch Protestant Bible translations.[32] The only illustrated Bibles printed in the Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were produced by Catholics, as will be discussed in the following chapters, since these Catholic editions were not available on the Dutch market during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Things were different with regard to texts based on the Bible such as versifications or moralizations of biblical fragments, or short summaries of biblical stories. Biblical prints with little or no text made by Dutch engravers such as Coornhert and Hendrik Goltzius became very popular among Protestants in the Republic from the end of the sixteenth century onward.[33] The concept of the picture Bible was also not unwelcome in the Republic as testified by the praise for Holbein's *Historiarum Vetris Testamenti Icones* expressed in van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* of 1604, mentioned in Chapter 2. Between 1592 and 1617, nine picture Bibles were produced in the Republic. In the appreciation for the picture Bible, confession did not seem to matter. Van Mander praised not only the prints of the Protestant Holbein,

[31] See for more details Rosier 1997: volume I, 35, 47, 117, 121 and 137.
[32] See on these buyers' habits Veldman 2006, and van der Coelen 2006a: 192.
[33] Most of these prints were straightforward illustrations of biblical scenes, with some allegorical elements, see for Veldman 1989: 115–143, 178–179.

but also those made after designs of the Catholic painter Abraham Bloemaert.[34]

The production of the picture Bibles was also interconfessional in nature. The printer Franciscus van Raphelingen, Plantin's son-in-law who worked in Leiden, was the first to get involved. In the years 1592 and 1593 he published two volumes based on plates made by Pieter van der Borcht. First was the *Emblemata Sacra*, which included an abridged version of Hiël's preface with its spiritual message, as well as new, less controversial texts by Bernardus Sellius, Latin moralizations of the biblical stories depicted on the plates.[35] The other volume, *Bibelsche Figuren*, was based on a second series of plates made by van der Borcht to suit the taste of Dutch Protestants. In accordance with Calvin's prohibition on depictions of God, the figure representing God in the old series of plates was replaced by a cloud or by the word 'God' in the new series:[36]

The plates were accompanied by Hiël's texts, which may explain why van Raphelingen published this volume anonymously.

The adapted plates of the new series were re-used by the Dutch Reformed printer and publisher Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam between 1594 and 1609 in the volume *Biblicae Historiae*, which perhaps derived its title from German sixteenth-century publications with similar titles. In this edition, Hiël's preface and *subscriptiones* were replaced by new texts, most likely because Claesz did not want to confront the Dutch readers with Hiël's views on the spiritual reading of the Bible.[37]

The eager reception of these first Dutch picture Bibles, as well as the enormous popularity of biblical prints, might have inspired the Anabaptist Crispijn De Passe to produce his *Liber Genesis* in 1612, the first book of biblical prints all made by one artist from the Northern Netherlands. The volume contained 59 prints with short Latin poems on the biblical stories of Adam and Eve, Noah, Jacob, etc. De Passe based his engravings for a large part on existing illustrations, making use of Maarten de Vos' solution, for instance, of depicting God with delicate stipples rather than with firm lines to avoid the criticism

[34] As noticed in van der Coelen 1998: 135.

[35] Sellius worked as a corrector in Plantin's workplace, and was—unlike Hiël—of impeccable reputation, see van der Coelen 1998.

[36] The new series of plates was made by van der Borcht around 1589. One of these plates, referring to the Book of Joel, retained an anthropomorphic representation of God, as argued in Hamilton 1981: 282.

[37] As also suggested in Hamilton 1981: 284.

26
IEREMIAS.
GOD
GOD
38.
38.
24.
28.
26.
36.
13.
19.
On peut ici voir figuratiuement, comment le Prophete reçoit
la Parolle du Seigneur: & que le Seigneur boute la Main à la Bou-
che du Prophete, cap. 1. Le Prophete achepte vne Ceinture,
cap. 13. Le Prophete rompt les Cruches en pieces deuant les
Hommes, cap. 19. On prend le Ioug du Col du Prophete, & le
rompt-on en pieces, cap. 18. On prend le Prophete, cap. 26. Il
est commandé au Prophete d'escrire la Parolle du Seigneur en
vn Liure, cap. 36. On aualle le Prophete auec des Cordes en la
Fosse: & le Prophete parle auec le Roi, cap. 38. Tout ceci nous
sert de patron, à ce que la Prophetie se puisse aussi reaument ac-
complir en nous: & que le Seigneur veuille aussi donner sa force
essentielle en nostre Ame (qui est la Main à la Bouche) & saisisse
nostre Ame en sa sainte essence: afin que le Ioug, le Contract de
l'Essence terrestre, se puisse aussi rompre en nous: & qu'on ne
boute plus de l'eau es Cruches de pierre; au Cœur pierreux; &
que la Prophetie s'accomplisse (qui est d'estre prinse) Et alors la
Prophetie vient à estre escrite reaument en vn liure; au Cœur de
l'humanité; qui est, accomplie en l'Esprit. & la Prophetie parle
auec le Gouuernement du cœur: & est aussi allee auec des Cordes en
la Fosse (qui est, reseruee à plusieurs Iours) & toutesfois aprés y
prend-on derechef garde. Auisés bien à ceci, car c'est Prophetie.
Eze-

Fig. 11 Engraving of Pieter van der Borcht from the new series, as reproduced in *Figures de Toutes les Plus Remarquables Histoires et Aultres Evenements du Vieil et Nouveau Testament*. Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1613, 26.

of orthodox Protestants.[38] The *Liber Genesis* was meant to encourage readers in the practice of virtue and piety; De Passe trusted them to read the Bible after having looked at the images.[39] The volume was reprinted in 1616, this time enlarged with German texts made by a Catholic priest from Cologne. The idea of producing the *Liber Genesis* had probably arisen during De Passe's stay in this city between 1589 and 1611.[40]

The rather elite format of the *Liber Genesis*—the Latin texts and its new (and thus expensive) copper engravings—perhaps limited this picture Bible's popularity. Nevertheless, the *Liber Genesis* testifies to the fondness of Dutch publishers and their readers for Bible illustrations with only a few lines of text. The Remonstrant publisher Michiel Colijn perhaps hoped to profit from this popular taste when he produced four picture Bibles between 1613 and 1617, using sources from various confessional backgrounds—including even a Catholic source.[41]

Colijn, who was born in Antwerp and settled as a bookseller and publisher in Amsterdam in 1608, started off with two different editions based on the two series of van der Borcht's plates. The *Emblemata Sacra* contained the texts by Bernardus Sellius and plates from the old series; Hiël's name was nowhere to be found in this edition.[42] The new series of plates was used in the *Figures de Toutes les Plus Remarquables Histoires et Aultres Evenements du Vieil et Nouveau Testament*, with French translations of Hiël's texts and preface. In 1614, these two editions were followed by what seems an even bolder enterprise: the production of a volume containing a series of etchings after the frescoes by Raphael in the Vatican Loggia. This series was first published in 1607 in the volume *Historia del Testamento Vecchio*, produced by Giovanni Orlandi in Rome. The original, Catholic illustrations were reprinted by Colijn without any adaptations, although the anthro-

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[38] See for a detailed analysis of De Passe's re-use of existing prints and for details on the two editions of the *Liber Genesis*, Veldman 2001b: 66.

[39] 'Ac praesens, opus si quid [=quis] illud non iniquo animo inspexerit, praeter delectationem non vulgarem aut inhonestam stimulium [=stimuliorum] ad virtutem & pietatem, nec non sacrarum literarum lectionem animis spectatorum addituram, non tam spero, quam confido', De Passe 1612: 3, quoted Veldman 2001b: 125.
See also van der Coelen 1998: 153–154.

[40] Veldman 2001a: 192.

[41] On Colijn's Arminianism see Hamilton 1981: 286. On the two editions see Dekoninck 2004: esp. 57.

[42] On Sellius and his reputation see Hamilton and Heesakkers 1989: 163–224.

pomorphic depictions of God in the etchings were bound to offend Protestant sensibilities.[43] Colijn's *Historia del Testamento Vecchio* was followed in 1617 by a second edition of Sellius' *Emblemata Sacra*, intended, perhaps, as a conciliatory gesture performed for the benefit of the various hostile religious factions the year before the Synod of Dordt, since Hiël's potentially controversial texts were not reproduced this time around.[44]

We can conclude from this brief overview that collections of Bible illustrations were rather successful in the Republic when they were rendered as picture Bibles and not as the visual components of illustrated Bibles. After 1617, the Dutch production of picture Bibles came to a halt, although some smaller publications, such as the illustrated children's book *De historie van den koninclijcken prophete David* [The History of the Royal Prophet David] printed by Jan van Waesberge from Rotterdam in 1622, continued to appear on the Dutch market. New experiments in the production of full-size picture Bibles were, however, not launched before 1637. At the Synod of Dordt, where the decision was made to produce a new Dutch Reformed Bible, it was explicitly stated that in this new Bible, no imagery was to be included which could give 'erghernisse' [offence].[45] As I will argue in the last sections of this chapter, this lull in the production of Dutch picture Bibles coincided with a widely felt preference for the Word in the Republic around and directly after 1618.

The Religious Emblem in the Republic

The religious emblems emerging from the Southern Netherlands during the first quarter of the seventeenth century underwent the same fate as the illustrated Bible: the emblem books made by David, Vaenius and Hugo had scarcely any impact on the growing Dutch emblematic production of the 1610s and 1620s, although in general Amsterdam publishers such as Dirk Pietersz Pers and Willem J. Blaeu owed part of their success to their imitation of Antwerp predecessors when they

[43] These etchings were made by Sisto Badalocchio and Giovanni Lanfranco. The originals were brought to Amsterdam for use by Colijn, see Engamarre 1994: 549–591, esp. 575; and Pezzini 1985.

[44] See Hamilton 1981: 287, and Mielke 2005.

[45] *Acta* 1621: 28.

came to rival their counterparts in the Southern Netherlands as the most important producers of Dutch emblem collections after 1600.[46]

Dutch engravers such as Jacques de Geyn II, Cornelis Boel and Adriaan van der Venne did not follow the lead of the engravers who shaped the contours of Catholic emblematic imagery in the Southern Netherlands. Instead, they specialized in the depiction of ordinary objects, scenes and landscapes. In Dutch emblems, realistic representations of everyday life—*realia*—were used to heighten the awareness that sin and transience can reveal themselves in many guises, and to teach the reading public a variety of moral lessons. Although these engravings were not completely devoid of the sacred, they were not even remotely connected to the iconography found in the Catholic emblem books from the Southern Netherlands.[47]

The annexation or implementation of the Southern Netherlandish iconography was not hampered by the cryptic complexity of the Catholic imagery in itself. On the contrary: the notion of the emblem as a vehicle of hidden significance, cryptic in-character, found an eager reception among Dutch emblematists.[48] The preference for complex emblematic constructions is expressed in the prefaces of some of the most influential Dutch emblem books produced at the time, and is often related to the supposedly deceptive nature of the image, which allows for more than one interpretation of what is seen by the viewer.

In Pieter Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* [Images with Meaning], for instance, dating from 1614, the author emphasized that a 'sinnepop' should consist of a short, moderately cryptic text and an attractive picture:

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[46] See for more general information on the Dutch emblem Porteman 1993 and Stronks 2008.

[47] See Stronks 2007: 73–92. Even the subgenre of love emblematics, created in the Republic after 1600, eventually became known for its realistic and practical qualities. See Gelderblom 2007b.

[48] The first reflections on the genre written in the Dutch language appeared in Marcus Antonius Gillis' preface to his Dutch translation of Joannes Sambucus' *Emblemata cum Aliquot Nummis* [Emblems with some Ancient Coins], published in Antwerp by Plantin in 1566. According to Gillis, images potentially have multiple meanings which can be revealed in separate texts: 'waer mede men ooc lichtelick van een figure twee, dry, oft meer Emblemata van verscheyden sinne, ende nochtans al even goet maken can' [one can also easily make from a figure two, three, or more emblemata with different meanings, which are nevertheless equally correct.]. Gillis 1566: fol. A4v. Gillis' theoretical insights corresponded with the approach in Sambucus' original, *Emblemata* (1564), in which the texts were also prioritized, both in terms of invention and communication, see Visser 2005: 189.

> 'Sinnepop' is a short, pithy saying which cannot at first sight be understood by the ordinary person but which is nevertheless not so obscure that one simply has to guess randomly at the meaning; but it requires some thought and reflection to taste the sweetness of the core or pith. Therefore, friend that you are, do not judge me harshly as I ask you to pay more attention to the amusing cleverness of the figures than to the simplicity of the glosses, which are as sober as they can possibly be; for it has never been my intention to torment your mind with much reading, but I did want to delight your eyes with the sight of this attractive fabrication.[49]

In Roemer Visscher's opinion, too many words detracted from the forceful, cryptic combination of a short text and a carefully composed 'clever' image. Often, Roemer Visscher added only a few words to his images, under the maxim: 'This requires no further explanation, rather everyone may use it as it suits him'—leaving ample room for different interpretations of his images.[50]

In his preface of what was to become the most popular Dutch emblem book of all times, the *Sinne- en minnebeelden* [Emblems and Images of Love] published in 1618, the Dutch Reformed Jacob Cats also expressed the idea that the reader should approach the emblematic unity of word and image like a puzzle. The *picturae* seem to be good for only a laugh, but they in fact invite the reader to consider what at first sight does not seem to be there.[51] Cats warned the reader

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[49] 'Sinnepop dan is een korte scherpe reden, die van Ian alleman, soo met het eerste aensien niet verstaen kan worden: maer even wel niet soo duyster datmer nae raden, jae of nae slaen moet: dan eyscht eenighe na bedencken ende overlegginge, om alsoo de soetheydt van de kerle of pit te smaecken. Dus vriendt wie ghy zijt, houdt my dit ten besten, u biddende dat ghy meer wilt achten op de kluchtigheydt van de Poppen, dan op de simpelheyd van de glosen, die soo sober zijn alsse immermeer wesen moghen: want mijn meeninghe is noyt gheweest u verstant te quellen met veel lesen, dan u oogen wilde ick wel vermaken met aenschouwen van dit lodderlijck voorgeven'. Roemer Visscher 1614: fol. *2v.

[50] 'Dit en behoeft gheen vorder uytlegginghe, dan een yeder mach het ghebruycken daer 't hem te passe komt', as Roemer Visscher points out in emblem 36 where he has decided to add only a few words of explanation to the picture, Roemer Visscher 1614: 36.

[51] 'so my yemant vraeght wat *Emblemata* inder daet zijn? dien sal ick antwoorden, dattet zijn stomme beelden, ende nochtans sprekende: geringe saecken, ende niet te min van gewichte: belachelijcke dingen, ende nochtans niet sonder wijsheyt: In dewelcke men de goede zeden als met vinghers wysen, ende met handen tasten kan, in dewelcke (segg' ick) men gemeenlijck altijt meer leest, alsser staet: ende noch meer denckt, alsmen siet'. [if someone asks me what *Emblemata* actually are, I will answer that they are mute images, and nevertheless ones that speak: small things, and yet weighty; ridiculous things, but not without wisdom, in which moral behavior can be

to take nothing concerning the imagery at face value, since underneath the 'outer image' ('het uytterlijcke beelt') one could find an 'inner-lijcken sin' [inner meaning]. If its inner meaning confronts the reader with improper human behavior, the image itself should not be blamed, 'for it is not the image itself, but the meaning that emerges from it that is important.'[52]

In conclusion, there is ample evidence that the complex imagery of the emblematic genre was accepted and employed by the Dutch emblematists. The objections to its religious application must therefore have been related to the—in a religious context—undesirable openness to various interpretations the image supposedly had.

Cats' Alternative

The idea of providing religious edification through the emblem had its charms, also for the Dutch Protestants, but how was one to do this on acceptable terms? The first attempt to utilize the genre was made by Dirck Pietersz Pers in 1608 by issuing a reprint of the Dutch translation of de Jodes' and van Haecht's *Mikrokósmos. Parvus Mundus*, first printed in Antwerp in 1584. Pers decided to change neither the title of this Dutch translation—*De cleyn werelt*—nor its content. In the preface to his 1608 reprint, he explained that he had been thinking about leaving out the biblical quotations of the original, since he himself thought it wise 'not to mingle the heavenly with the earthly'.[53] Out of respect for the authors, so he claimed, he in the end decided against removing the biblical quotations. The collection of emblems was again reprinted by Pers in 1613. This time a new title was assigned to the emblem collection, *Den gulden winckel* [The Golden Treasury], perhaps to indicate that some changes had been made. The adaptations were, however, only marginal: the biblical quotes were still included—

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pointed to as if with one's fingers, and touched with one's hands, in which (I say) one usually reads more than is written and imagines even more than one sees]. Quoted from the 1627 edition of *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, Cats 1627: 4. When the volume was first printed in 1618, it was titled *Silenus Alcibiadis, sive Proteus*. I refer to it here by its later title, which was (and still is) far better known.

[52] 'mitsdien, niet so seer het beeldt, als den sin, uyt het beelt ontstaende, bedenckelijck is'. Cats 1627: 4.

[53] 'den hemel met de aerde niet onder een te minghen'. Van Haecht and Moerman 1608: fol. :3v.

this time without any editorial comment—and the new texts by Joost van den Vondel closely resembled van Haecht's originals.[54]

Den gulden winckel's mix of mythology, classical tales and Christian doctrine did not find an eager reception in the Republic, at least not before 1650. The volume was reprinted only once during the first half of the seventeenth century, in 1622, with some additional commentaries in prose written by Pers himself.

A more effective attempt to copy the Catholics' formula for success was made by Cats in his *Sinne- en minnebeelden*. In the *picturae* of this emblem book, Cats offered representations of Dutch *realia*, as seen in many other emblem books published at the time. New and innovative was Cats' idea to give not only a moralistic, but also a religious interpretation of these *picturae*. In emblem 21, for instance, we see a young woman standing next to a table with a caged bird. In the first *subscriptio* this scene is given an amorous reading. The reader is warned to keep the bird safely confined: 'Ah! tender thing, virginity, so quickly gone!/It vanishes with searching, gets lost when it is found'.[55] Since *vogelen* ('bird catching') was in the seventeenth century a term frequently used for sexual intercourse, the caged bird represented the preservation or protection of her virginity.

Cats makes a smooth transition from the erotic connotation of the image in the first *subscriptio* to a religious interpretation in the third:

> It is unnecessary to chase a bird from its cage,
> For it has no desire to stay inside;
> Whenever it spots an opening,
> It eagerly jumps up and flies away.
> The body is the cage which keeps the soul imprisoned;
> Death gives release, it sets the soul free;
> Why, O Christian heart, why is it then feared here?
> Though death destroys the body, it liberates the soul.[56]

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[54] Porteman 1979: 26–59.

[55] Ach! maeghdom, teer gewas, dat ons soo licht ontglijt!/Met soecken raecktet wech, met vinden isset quijt.'. Cats 1627: 123.

[56] 'Ten is van gheenen noot een voghel uyt te dryven//Hy wil oock even selfs niet in sijn hutte blyven;/Want als hy maer en siet het open vande lucht//Soo springht hy veerdich op, en gheeft hem totte vlucht./Het lichaem is de koy, die houdt de ziel ghevanghen;/De doot die maecktse los, die maecktse vrye ganghen;/Waerom, o christen hert, waerom doch hier ghevreest?/Al velt de doot het lijf, sy maeckt een vryen gheest.'. Cats 1627: 126.

122
REPERIRE, PERIRE EST.
XXI.
JS
AMBROS DE VIRG. Claude vas tuum ne unguentum effluat, claude virginitatem verecundiâ loquendi, & abstinentiâ.
HIERON. AD SAL. VIAN. Fœnera res in fœminis pudicitia est; &, quasi flos pulcherrimus, citò ad levem marcescit auram, levique flatu corrumpitur, maximè ubi & ætas consentit ad vitium.
Annæn. Robert. Lib. 2. Rej. Iud. Cap. 12.
Sæpe explorando, an, & ubi virginitas sit, virginitas amissa est.
't vlucht

Fig. 12 *Pictura* 'Reperire, perire est' [By seeking, one will die], Jacob Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*. Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1627, 122.

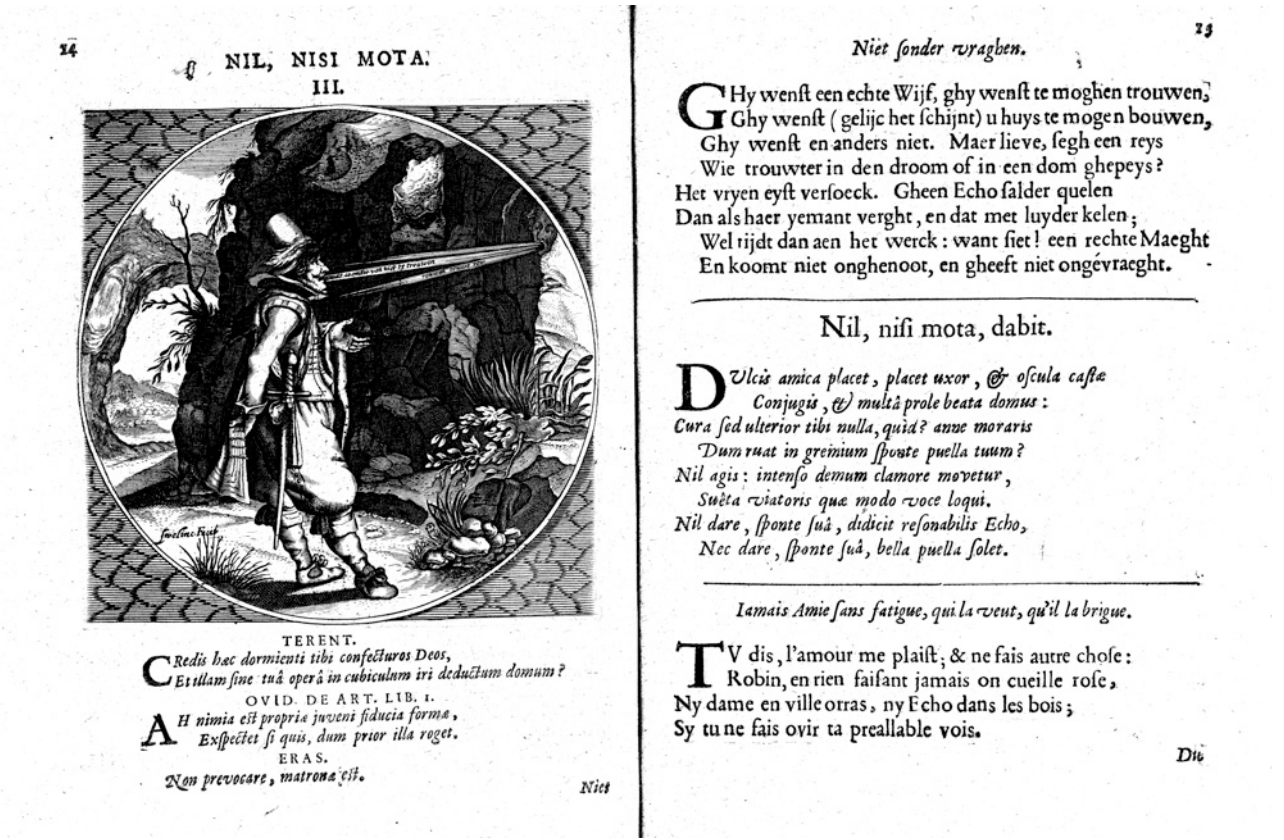
In this religious interpretation, the caged bird is a representation of the human soul, which should—given the Christian's promise of eternal life—have the courage to leave the human body behind. One should not be afraid to die, Cats concluded.

Cats incorporated into his *realia* some allegorical, emblematic elements drawn from religious as well as profane contexts: a hand reaching from the clouds in emblems 17, 26, 27, 36, 39 and 42, and a visual representation of an echo in the *pictura* of emblem 3, titled 'Nil, nisi mota'. The pictorial motif of the engraved echo had already found widespread use in illustrated religious literature of the medieval period, for instance in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (dating from circa 1440). Judging from the actual words Cats gives to the echo—not biblical quotations, but some colloquial lines - his intention was not to trigger his readers' recollection of this religious tradition. In this *pictura*, a man receives advice from his echo. To his question 'Wat coomter van niet te trouwen?' [What will happen if one does not marry?], the echo's answer is 'rouwen, rouwe, rou' [ruefulness, ruing, rue].

The scene is first explained in an amorous manner, for the youth: A lover can only expect a response from a virgin if he expresses his feelings. The same scene is again explained for the somewhat older reader in the second *subscriptio*: it is wise to pose questions, but not to malicious people, because their answers will be devastating. And then, in a third poem, a religious reading of the scene is offered, starting with a biblical quotation (Luke 11:9):

> *Bidt en u sal ghegeven worden, soeckt en ghy sult vinden, klopt en u sal opghedaen werden.* [And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you]
>
> Whoever wishes to bring forth an echo in the air
> Must send a piercing call into the heavens,
> For he who utters nothing but weak words,
> Will hear no answer, no matter how long he waits.
> Whoever desires to penetrate Heaven with a cry of grief
> Should fervently express his heart's deepest longings;
> Only he who prays powerfully and sighs to God
> Will call forth an echo high up in the heavens.[57]

[57] 'Wie oyt een wederklanck wil in die lucht verwecken/Die moet een helle stem tot inden hemel strecken//Want die niet uyt en brenght als woorden sonder kracht// En hoort geen tegen-spraeck, hoe lang hy antwoort wacht./Hy dient zijn herten gront met yver uyt te spreken//Die met een drouve galm wil inden hemel breken//Alleen



14

NIL, NISI MOTA.

III.

TERENT.

Credis hæc dormienti tibi confecturos Deos,
Et illam sine tuâ operâ in cubiculum iri deductum domum?

OVID. DE ART. LIB. I.

Ah nimia est propriæ juveni fiducia formæ,
Exspectet si quis, dum prior illa roget.

ERAS.

Non provocare, matronæ est.

Niet

23

Niet sonder vraghen.

GHy wenst een echte Wijf, ghy wenst te moghen trouwen,
Ghy wenst (gelijc het schijnt) u huys te mogen bouwen,
Ghy wenst en anders niet. Maer lieve, segh een reys
Wie trouwter in den droom of in een dom ghepeys?
Het vryen eyst verfoeck. Gheen Echo falder quelen
Dan als haer yemant verght, en dat met luyder kelen;
Wel rijdt dan aen het werck: want siet! een rechte Maeght
En koomt niet onghenoot, en gheeft niet ongevraeght.

Nil, nisi mota, dabit.

DUlcis amica placet, placet uxor, & oscula castæ
Conjugis, & multâ prole beata domus:
Cura sed ulterior tibi nulla, quid? anne moraris
Dum ruat in gremium sponte puella tuum?
Nil agis: intenso demum clamore movetur,
Suêta viatoris quæ modo voce loqui.
Nil dare, sponte suâ, didicit resonabilis Echo,
Nec dare, sponte suâ, bella puella solet.

Iamais Amie sans fatigue, qui la veut, qu'il la brigue.

TV dis, l'amour me plaist; & ne fais autre chose:
Robin, en rien faisant jamais on cueille rose,
Ny dame en ville orras, ny Echo dans les bois;
Sy tu ne fais ovir ta preallable vois.

Die

Only a heartfelt prayer, nourished in one's soul and recited with an inner voice, will be heard by God. The communication between God and the believer is thematized by Cats in this emblem, with the advice to use the voice and ears—rather than the eye and the visual, as advocated in Hugo's emblems—to establish a relationship with God.

The example set by the *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, of teaching religious lessons through the use of secular imagery, was not widely followed in the Republic. The only comparable attempt was made by the Dutch Reformed Johan de Brune in 1624. His emblem book, *Emblemata of zinne-werck*, also provided religious interpretations of scenes from daily life. De Brune was, however, far less positive about the imagery's effect, apparently because he considered the visual to be inferior to the textual, owing to the ambiguity of the image.[58] In the dedication of his *Emblemata of zinne-werck*, de Brune argued that the images offered useful delight for the senses. Without the accompanying explanatory texts, they would nevertheless be as helpless as oysters—often seen as the symbol for the (sensual) feminine gender in emblematics—without their shells:

> Images mostly seem to serve no other purpose than to delight the senses; […] But just as oysters that cling to rocks or piers lose their life when their shells are removed; images are nothing but follies if they are taken at face value, without an explanatory application.[59]

The meaning of *picturae*, de Brune maintained, is always open to debate, while texts are not inherently ambiguous.[60] Language, on the

---

die krachtigh bid, en tot den Heere sucht//Verweckt een wederklanck tot boven in de lucht'. Cats 1627: 18.

[58] In preparing his *Emblemata of zinne-werck*, de Brune worked together with the best engravers of his time (Adriaen van de Venne, Christoffel le Blon, Johannes Gelle, Willem de Passe, Albert Poel en Jan Gerritsz Swelinck). The subordination of the image to the word was therefore not caused by a lack of high-quality *picturae*.

[59] 'De beelden meesten-deel en schijnen niet anders te dienen, als tot verlustinge der zinnen; […] Maer gelijck de oesters, die aen rotsen of zee-hoofden gehecht zijn, het leven verliezen, wanneer haer de schelpe af-getrocken wvert; alzoo en zijn die beelden maer enckele beuzelinghen, zoo zy alleene, en zonder hare toe-passinghe, aen-gemerkct werden'. Quoted from the second (unchanged) edition. De Brune 1636: fol. *1v.

[60] This would explain why de Brune's *Emblemata of zinne-werck* contains so much more text than visual material: the 51 prints are accompanied by *subscriptiones*—if that term still applies here—consisting of short poems and prose explanations covering several pages.

condition that it is 'smooth and polished' and imbued with 'lively colors,' has a greater potential than the visual arts:

> It is not enough for arguments to have marrow and meat: they need to be enriched and embellished by the paintbrush of the smooth and polished word. It is most certainly true that if they are not highlighted with lively colors, the depth and shading (the most extraordinary feature of paintings) will not be noticed.[61]

The arguments needed to be embellished with well-chosen words in order to gain the perspective and depth inherent in the visual media.

As this view into the poetic practices of de Brune and Cats shows, Dutch Reformed emblematists were of the opinion that visual stimuli could not be fully relied on, since images are deceptive and ambiguous in nature. The fear that believers might not be able to link an image to its meaning—and thus to connect the visible with the invisible in the case of the religious emblem—was present amongst Catholics and Protestants alike, but they responded in opposite ways. Engravers such as Wierix and Galle sought refuge in designing complicated, allegorical images which, even at first sight, seemed to depict anything but what was ordinarily visible, thus reducing the chance of misinterpretation to a minimum. In contrast, Dutch Reformed emblematists abstained from using religious imagery altogether in order to avoid interpretational errors. Most of them, in keeping with the Protestant idea of the primacy of the Scripture, decided not to write any religious emblems at all: only Cats wholeheartedly searched for an alternative by using the secular emblematic image as an aid in religious instruction.

These Dutch Protestant practices were not counterbalanced by Dutch Catholic literary activities in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Catholic religious literature, whether illustrated or unillustrated, was virtually absent from the publishing scene. In a way, this reflected the state of the Catholic Church in the Republic: works by the Delft Jesuit Lodewijk Makeblijde, such as the richly, emblematically illustrated *Den lust-hof der gheestelicke oeffeninghen* [Pleasure Garden of Spiritual Exercises], or *Den hemelschen handel der devote zielen* [The Heavenly Trade of Pious Souls], or *Den berch der gheestelicker*

---

[61] 'T'en is jae oock niet genoegh, dat een reden mergh en vleesch heeft: zy moet dickwils wat geschmuckt en verciert werden, door het pinceel van een effen en ronde tale. En ghewisselick, zoo die niet verheven en werd met levendige couleuren, de verdiepingen en verschietingen (het byzonderste van de tafereelen) en konnen niet vermerckt werden', de Brune 1636: fol. *4r.

vreughden [Mountain of Spiritual Joys], were printed in the Southern Netherlands rather than in the Republic at the same time that the Dutch Catholic Church was declared a mission field by the pope invoegen (see Fig. 14).[62]

This Catholic iconography obviously encountered resistance in the Republic.[63] The Catholic publisher Pieter Jacobsz Paets, for instance, could not openly publish his edition of the *Pia Desideria*, for which he had woodcuts made by Christoffel van Sichem in Amsterdam in 1628. Instead, he forged a printer's address in Antwerp while secretly printing the volume in Amsterdam.[64]

Heyns' Effort to Subvert

In this environment, where—be it with some force or voluntarily—the custom had formed that religious emblematic imagery would not be used for the purpose of edifying the faithful, Zacharias Heyns published his *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* [Christian and Moral Emblems] in 1625. These emblems constituted the first attempt to appropriate elements of Catholic iconography in order to rewrite the Dutch religious emblem along the lines developed by Cats. Heyns—who was a Protestant, but never a member of the Dutch Reformed, Anabaptist or Remonstrant churches[65]—worked together with the Dutch engraver Jan Gerritsz Swelinck and the publisher Pieter van Waesberge, both of whom contributed to the publication of the emblem books by Cats and de Brune, but started a new and somewhat different endeavor with Heyns.[66]

It is more than likely that Heyns himself was well acquainted with the Catholic tradition of the religious emblem. Born in Antwerp as the son of the Calvinist schoolmaster Peeter Heyns who migrated north

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[62] See for further reference to the Catholic production Spaans 2002a: 162. Around this time the works of the Catholic priest Joannes Stalpart van der Wielen, who also lived and worked in Delft, were printed and published in Den Bosch, a city under the rule of the Spanish king since 1579; not until 1630 was it conquered by the Dutch, and from that moment on Stalpart van der Wielen's works were printed in the Southern Netherlands.

[63] More information on the limitations of Catholic printers in the Republic is found in Begheyn 1997: 293–308, esp. 299; and Visser 1996.

[64] See Dietz 2010 and Dietz 2011.

[65] See Meeus 1990: 116–121.

[66] See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 228; Meeus 1990: 291; and van Mameren 1997: 63–95. See also Stronks 2010.

Fig. 14 Title page from Lodewijk Makeblijde, *Den berch der gheestelikker vreughden, vol hemelsche hoven ende melodieuse lofsangen*. Antwerpen: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1618.

with his family in 1585, he had many connections with publishers and writers who had fled the Spanish oppression during the Eighty Years' War after the fall of Antwerp.[67] His familiarity with Southern Netherlandish literature and the talent he displayed during his career for assessing which new genres were going to be popular most likely led to his decision to produce the *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*.[68] Like many of Heyns' other productions, this emblem book was intended for a wide public, Catholics as well as Protestants on both the national and international market.

In the title of his *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*, and in many of his texts in which he mentions de Montenay's name, Heyns pays tribute to Georgette de Montenay's Protestant *Cent Emblemes Chrestiens*.[69] While clearly indicating his dependence on de Montenay's example, Heyns was far more discreet about the borrowing of ideas from Catholic religious emblems.[70] The similarities can, however, easily be detected by looking at the imagery Heyns employed in emblem five of the *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*, which seems a clear echo of the Wierix engravings. Heyns' text and picture both refer to the biblical metaphor of the believer as a house of God.[71] Within a burning heart, we see a representation of Christ holding a standard, surrounded by the walls of a temple. The reader is told, in both the *motto* ('Templum Christi cor hominis') and the *subscriptio* of this emblem, that the human heart should be Christ's temple.

Heyns did not simply copy devotional images from the Catholic tradition. He reworked his models, adapting them to a different function, as can be seen in the *pictura* of emblem five (the image of the risen Christ in the flaming heart), and in the *subscriptio* accompanying the

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[67] See Meeus 1995: 122–123.

[68] As concluded in Meeus 2008: 381–397, esp. 397.

[69] No other Dutch adaptation of de Montenay's *Cent Emblemes Chrestiens* was printed in the Republic, though de Montenay's *subscriptiones* were translated into Dutch by Anna Roemers Visscher, the daughter of the wealthy Amsterdam poet Roemer Visscher. Anna's handwritten versions of de Montenay's emblems only circulated in private circles at the time. See Schenkeveld 2004: 100–107.

[70] Other less overtly religious emblems used birds, reptiles, insects, or imagery that Heyns' readers must have recognized from the profane emblem tradition.

[71] See for instance, 1 Corinthians 3:16–17: 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? […] the temple of God is holy which temple ye are'. Similar words can be found in 1 Corinthians 6:19 and Ephesians 2:21–22.

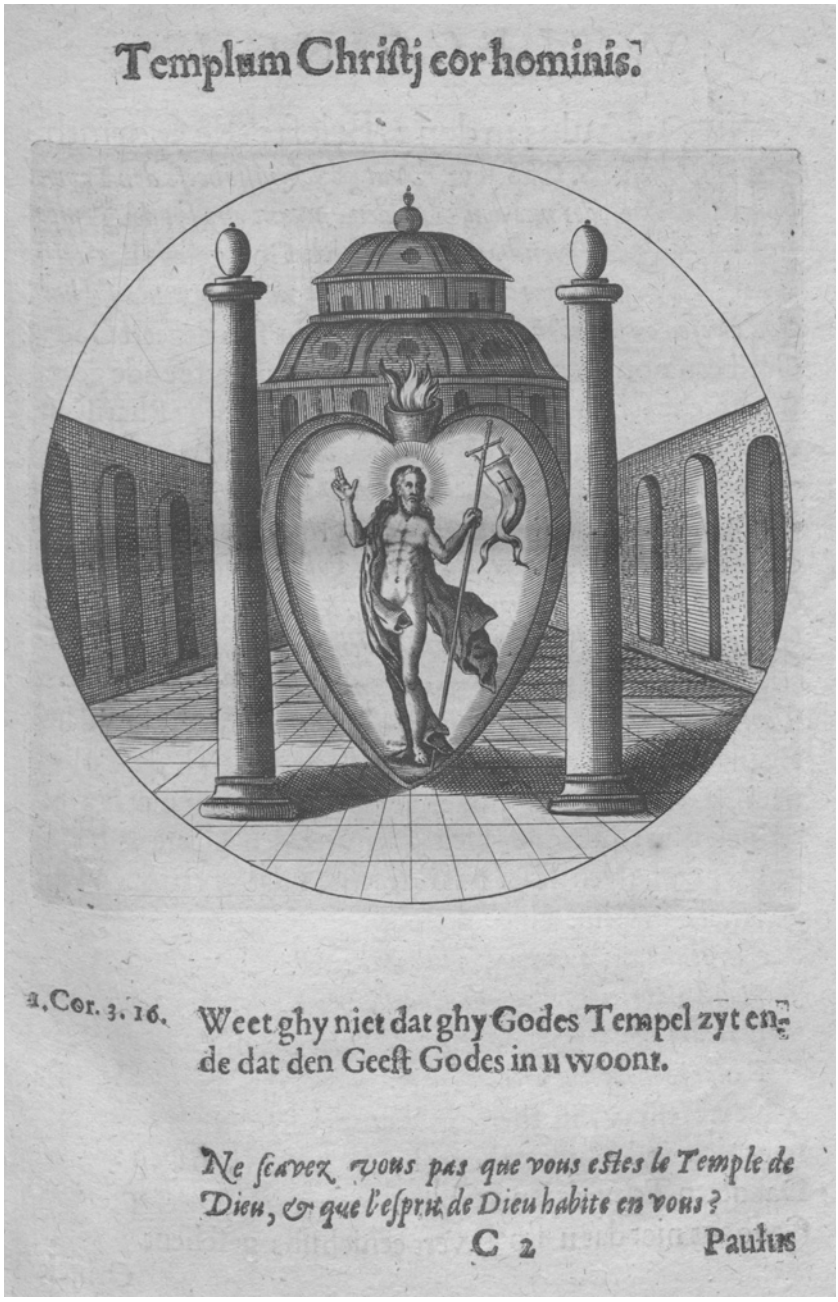
Templum Christj cor hominis.
1. Cor. 3. 16.
Weet ghy niet dat ghy Godes Tempel zyt ende dat den Geest Godes in u woont.
Ne scavez vous pas que vous estes le Temple de Dieu, & que l'esprit de Dieu habite en vous?
C 2
Paulus

Fig. 15 *Pictura* 'Templum Christi cor hominis', Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*. Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, fol. C2r.

pictura, which emphasizes the central role of preaching and singing in Protestant worship:

> Although God's word, if taught or read to us
> Alone, at home, can be of comfort,
> What's learned in public, attentively,
> Carries much more weight and is a great deal more powerful.
> He wants us to sweetly join our voices there,
> To sing His Praise, in competition with the angels.[72]

The emotional function of Jesus' presence and the burning heart—characteristic of Wierix imagery—was reduced in Heyns' adaptation. While the Wierix brothers had portrayed *amor divinus* as a diminutive, childlike figure, Heyns chose to depict divine love as an adult man, indeed as Jesus. Heyns' *pictura* addresses the intellect rather than the senses: the image of the heart no longer serves as a stimulus for a meditative process, but simply helps the reader visualize how God, faith, and the believer's heart should be unified. The image itself plays no role in bringing about this unity, because piety is best practiced through reading, listening and congregational singing, as the text makes clear. The church building depicted in the *pictura* underlines this message, even more so as Christ is pointing to the church towering above him, directing the attention of the reader to what surrounds the heart rather than to the heart itself. The church as an institution, rather than the individual's emotions, needed to be the readers' focus.

There appear to have been limits to what Heyns could portray. As if to forestall accusations that he might be encouraging image worship, Heyns cleverly avoided an anthropomorphic depiction of God in emblem three, 'Trinitas unitatis Simplicitatem non excludit'. In the *pictura*, the Holy Trinity—a controversial topic, even in the history of Catholic iconography[73]—is represented by two numerals:

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[72] 'Want hoewel Godes Woord geleert oft Voor-gelesen/Alleenlyck binnens huys ons troostelyck mach wesen//Het geen in 't openbaer geleert word met verdacht/Is van veel meer gewichts, heeft al veel grooter kracht./Hy wil dat wy aldaer ons stemmen lieflijck dwingen//En synen loff als om strijt als met syn Eng'len singen'. Heyns 1625: fol. C3r.

[73] Twice in the history of the Catholic Church, a papal prohibition was issued against anthropomorphic depictions of the Holy Trinity. Theological objections to depicting the Holy Trinity in this manner abounded in the early modern era. See Hallebeek 2007: 353–383; also Manuth 1993–1994: 235–252, esp. 245–246.

Trinitas vnitatis Simplicitatem non excludit.
1. Ioh. 5. 7.
Dry zijnder diegetuygeniſſe geven in den Hemel de Vader het woord ende den Heyligen Geeſt en de dry zijn een.
Il y en a trois qui donnent teſmoignage au ciel, le Pere, la parole, & le ſainct eſprit, & ces trois ſont un.
B 2
De

Fig. 16 *Pictura* 'Trinitas unitatis Simplicitatem non excludit', Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales.* Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, fol. B2r.

Heyns preserves the powerful effect of imagery on the human mind by representing the distinct unity of God the Father, the Holy Spirit and Jesus—the numerals '1' and '3' are not simply placed next to each other, but seem to emerge from each another—while making sure not to embroil himself in the controversies surrounding the topic.[74] Working in a visual tradition predicated on the illegitimacy of pictorializing spiritual concepts, this typographical representation of the Holy Trinity substitutes for the traditional religious imagery and seems designed to help explain the underlying theological concept. Again, the lesson in this emblem relates to the worship of God:

> It is more respectful and sacred to believe in God than to know about Him (as Augustine testifies), because one will know Him better in sober ignorance.[75]

Solving the mystery of the Holy Trinity should not be the reader's aim. The image is used as an aid to the believer's capacities to visualize an element of Christian doctrine, but it does not serve as a sign of the invisible.

Adapting Catholic imagery to his own purposes and needs, Heyns made a clear distinction between his new religious (Christian) emblems and those created in the moralistic tradition, as indicated by his book's title *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*. The volume was divided into two parts, one with religious ('chrestiennes') emblems and the other with moralistic ('morales') emblems. The imagery in the second part clearly differs from that used in the religious section. In fact, the *picturae* of Heyns' moralistic emblems show a remarkable similarity to those of Cats and de Brune, and the *subscriptiones* accompanying them contain far fewer biblical quotes and are not directed to the worship of God.[76] Scenes from daily life convey moral lessons, such as 'good friends should be loyal to each other' ('Plorat en devorat'), 'one should never pretend to be anything one is not' ('Vertumnus'), 'one should not gossip' ('Virtus prima compescere linguam'), and, in the case of the *pictura* shown here, 'one should raise one's offspring well'

[74] See Mochizuki 2008: Chapter 3, for an explanation of the importance of non-figural imagery of God.

[75] Heyns 1625: fol. Biiir: 'Heyliger en eerbiediger te syn van God te ghelooven als te weten, dewijle hy (na de getuyghenisse Augustinj) beter word gekent in sobere onwetenheyt'.

[76] There are 73 biblical quotes in the 'Emblemes Chrestiennes' and only 19 in the 'Emblemes Morales.' See Meeus 1990: 276 and 290.

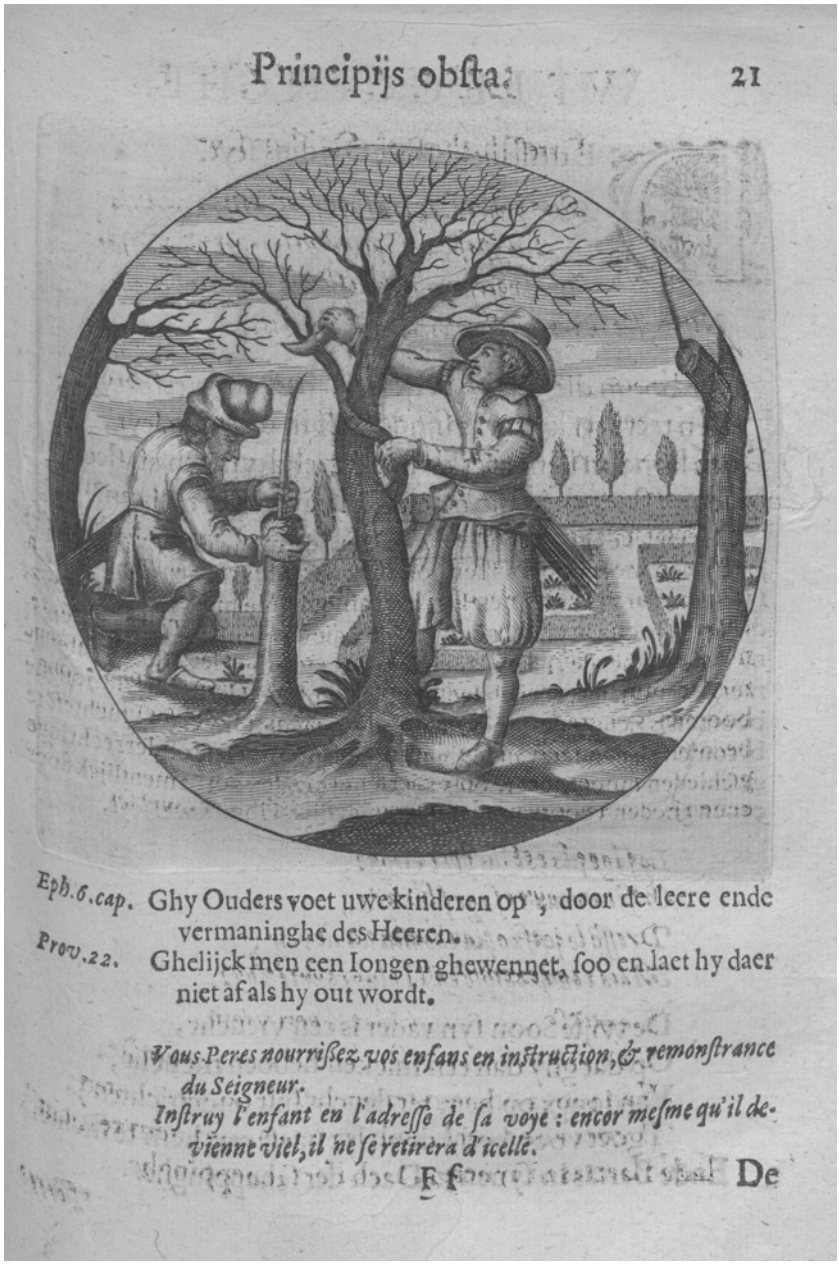
Principijs obſta. 21
Eph.6.cap. Ghy Ouders voet uwe kinderen op, door de leere ende vermaninghe des Heeren.
Prov.22. Ghelijck men een Iongen ghewennet, ſoo en laet hy daer niet af als hy out wordt.
Vous Peres nourriſſez vos enfans en inſtruction, & remonſtrance du Seigneur.
Inſtruy l'enfant en l'adreſſe de ſa voye: encor meſme qu'il devienne viel, il ne ſe retirera d'icelle.
De

Fig. 17 *Pictura* 'Principijs obstas', Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes: et Morales.* Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, 21.

Fig. 18 *Pictura* 'Iam plenis nubilis annis', Jacob Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*. Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1627, 266.

('Principijs obstas'), demonstrated by the grafting of a tree, which, if not done properly, will result in disaster:

This series of emblems closely resembles Cats' moralistic interpretations in the *Sinne- en minnebeelden*.

In order to accentuate the difference between the 'religious' emblem and the 'moralistic' emblem, Heyns inserted an element of the pictorial language from the series of religious emblems into one of the moralistic emblems, thus transforming it into profane imagery. Again, the human heart is depicted, although this time it is not burning. Instead of Jesus, we now see a globe—a well-known attribute in profane emblematics, often symbolizing the dangerous charms of worldly luxury—in the middle of the heart.

Referring to Genesis 8:21 ('for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth'), Heyns explains to the reader the sinful nature of the human heart. Instead of urging the reader to focus on the worship of God—as he would have done in one of the religious emblems—Heyns gives advice on how to carefully avoid all worldly temptations.

Against the backdrop of the broader discussion among Protestants about the legitimacy of religious images, the first emblem of the collection *Emblemes Chrestiennes* can be perceived as a vindication of Heyns' efforts to introduce the novelty of religious emblems based on religious iconography in the Republic.

The word occupies a central position in the *pictura*—which shows God's name in letters, but not his figurative presence—as well as in the *motto* ('Verbum Domini perstat in æternum' [God's Word lasts forever]) and in the *subscriptio*:[77]

> Everything on earth has its appointed time, it will pass away,
> Stars will fall, not a thing will last,
> God's word, God's sacred word, shall abide forever,
> Which has been from the beginning, and is still continuously creating.
> His will lives in the word, the word in his will,
> Through the word, according to his will, he created light for us,
> Create in me a clean heart, O Word, my God and Lord,
> So that I can forsake earthly things and willingly turn to thee.[78]

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[77] In his choice of publisher's device, Heyns displayed the same kind of awareness of possible controversy: the top of the device shows the Tetragrammaton, the four Hebrew letters commonly pronounced as 'Yahweh', in a halo. See Meeus 2008: 386.

[78] 'Al wat ter werelt is sijn tijt heeft, 'tsal vergaen//'t Gesternte vallen sal, geen ding en sal bestaen//Gods woort, Gods heylich woordt, in eeuwicheyt sal duren//Is van begin geweest en schept noch t'allen uren//Syn willen in het woord, 'twoord in syn

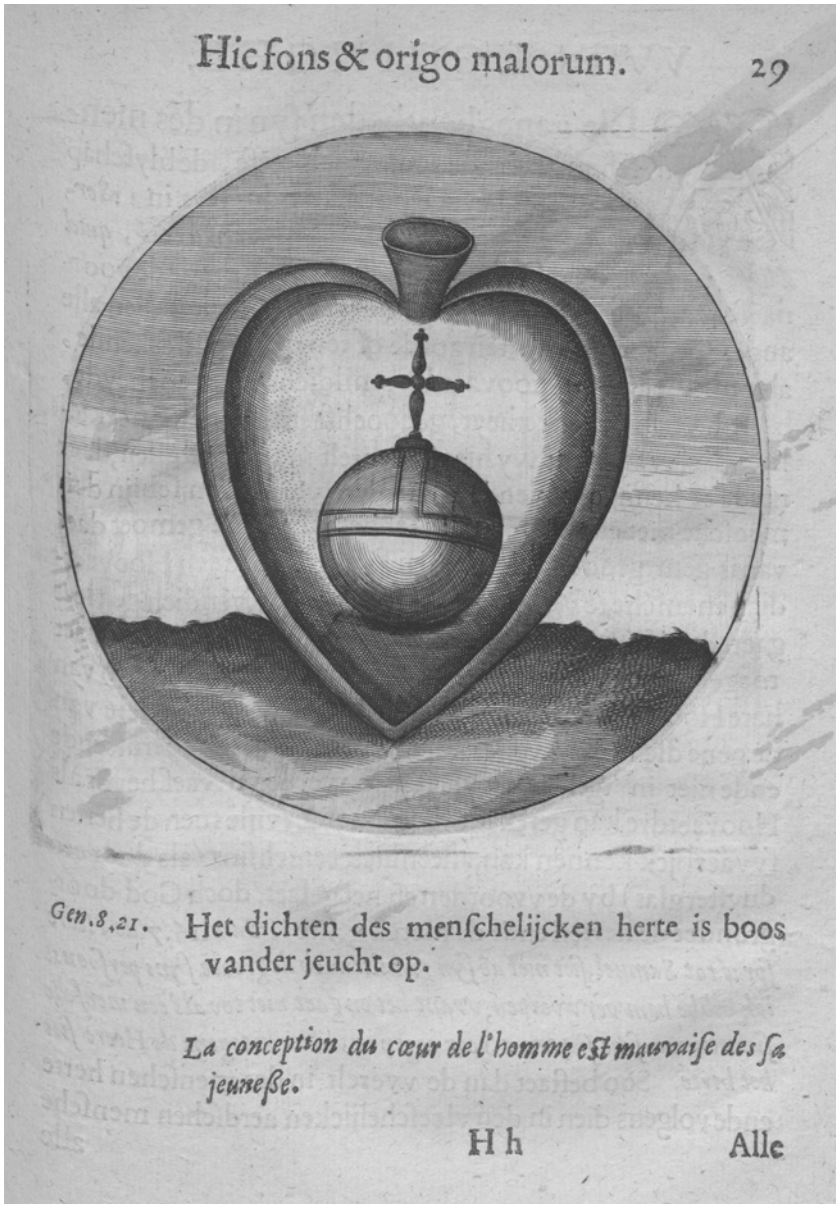
Hic fons & origo malorum. 29
Gen. 8, 21. Het dichten des menſchelijcken herte is boos vander jeucht op.
La conception du cœur de l'homme eſt mauvaiſe des ſa jeuneſſe.
H h
Alle

Fig. 19 *Pictura* 'Hic fons & origo malorum', Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*. Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, 29.

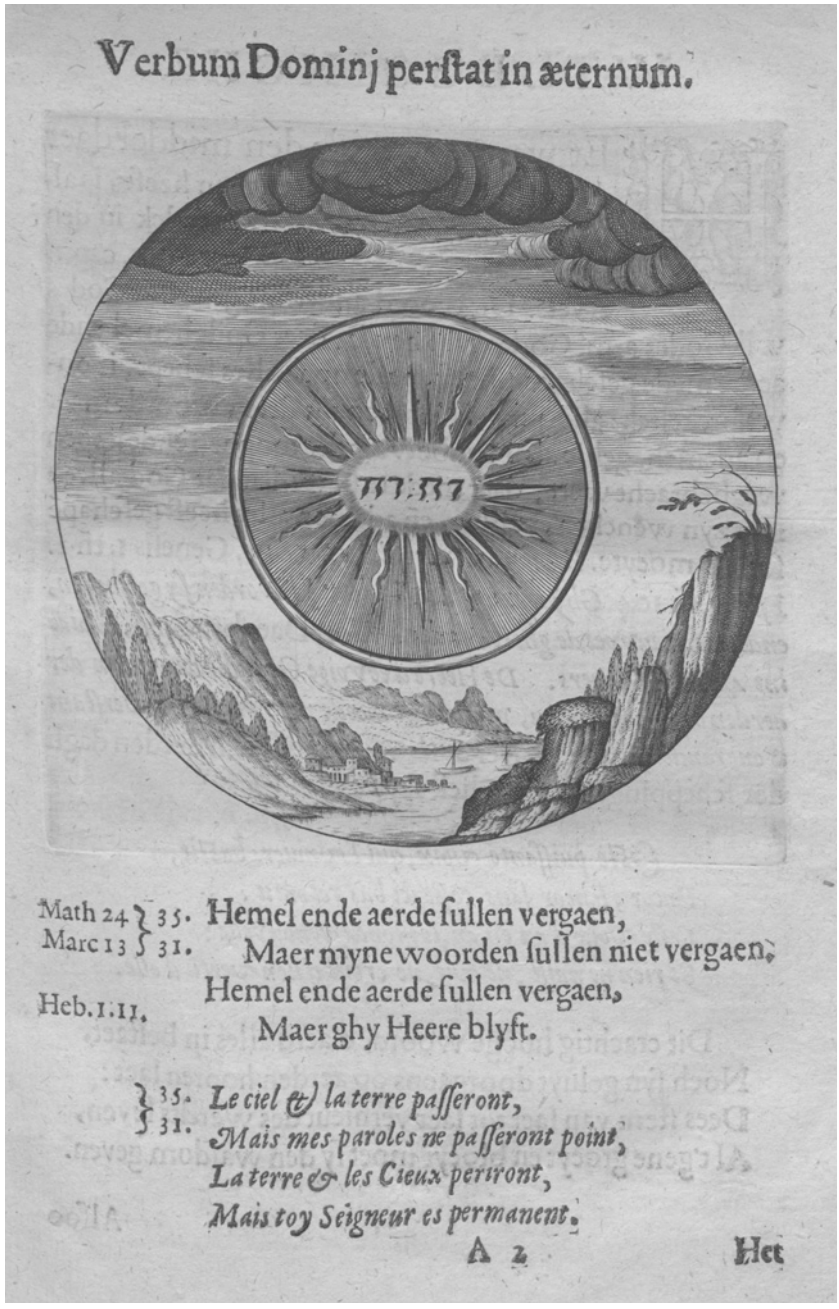
Verbum Dominj perſtat in æternum.
Math 24 } 35. Hemel ende aerde ſullen vergaen,
Marc 13 } 31. Maer myne woorden ſullen niet vergaen.
Heb. 1. 11. Hemel ende aerde ſullen vergaen,
Maer ghy Heere blyft.
} 35. Le ciel & la terre paſſeront,
} 31. Mais mes paroles ne paſſeront point,
La terre & les Cieux periront,
Mais toy Seigneur es permanent.
A 2
Het

Fig. 20 *Pictura* 'Verbum Domini perstat in æternum', Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales.* Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, fol. A2r.

Everything on earth will perish, but God's Word created the world and will continue to exist, just as God's Word appears to dominate the world beneath it in the *pictura*. The speaker of these lines wishes to experience the creative power of God's Word, enabling him or her to turn away from earthly distractions. This message is repeated underneath the *pictura*. A quote from the Bible (Matt. 24:35) is first used to represent God's voice, but is then redirected into a lesson learned by the speaker:

> Heaven and Earth will pass away
> But my words will not pass away.
> Heaven and the earth will pass away
> But you, Lord, abide.[79]

In the accompanying prose explanation, Heyns expresses the same message once again, this time paraphrasing John 1: 1–3:[80]

> The instrument and means used by God to create all things is solely that almighty Word, which was with God in the beginning, and indeed was God Himself.[81]

The priority and strength of God's Word is therefore underscored over and over again at the beginning of the *Emblemes Chrestiennes*. Although Heyns does not openly disparage the visual, the emphasis on the dominance of the word by implication also applies to the textual element of his emblems.

Heyns' harmonious merging of the Catholic and Protestant literary traditions grew out of his vision of a church organized along the same irenic principles. This comes to expression in emblem four, in which Heyns depicts a landscape, the famous Vale of Tempe, celebrated for its beauty by ancient poets such as Virgil in the *Georgics*. In this landscape, people are peacefully enjoying each other's company.

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willen leeft//Door 't woord na synen wil ons 't licht geschapen heeft:/Schept een reyn hert in my, o woord, myn God en Heere//Op dat ick 'taerds verlaet en willich tot u keere'. Heyns 1625: fol. A1v.

[79] 'Hemel en aarde zullen vergaen//Maer myne woorden sullen niet vergaen./Hemel en de aerde sullen vergaen//Maer ghy Heere blyft'. Heyns 1625: fol. A2r.

[80] Heyns gave the first epistle of John as his source, but was actually paraphrasing the gospel of John 1: 1–3.

[81] 'Het werctuyg enden den middel daer door God alle dingen geschapen heeft, is alleen dat almachtich Woord, 'twelck in den beginne by God was, Ia God selfs. Io. I. cap. I.2. vers.'. Heyns 1625: fol. A2r.

Non Zephyris agitata Tempe.
Pſalm. 133. Siet hoe fijn ende lieffijck is het dat Broeders endrachtich by elckanderen woonen.
Voici, ô que c'eſt bonne choſe, & ſouhaitable que freres habitent en bonne paix & concorde enſemble.
Het

Fig. 21 *Pictura* 'Non Zephyris agitate Tempe', in Zacharias Heyns, *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales.* Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1625, fol. B4r.

Heyns sees a parallel between the Vale of Tempe and an exemplary church: 'An example of the church, where many a person lives in the way he desires, with greater peace of mind'.[82] And he wishes all controversies to end, so that this exemplary church will come into existence:

> God grant that the Root of all disputes, as well as damaging ambition, may someday be destroyed, so that the Church can rightly be compared to the most pleasant valley.[83]

A plea to accommodate religious differences was thus made by de-emphasizing the boundaries between the various communities of faith.

Heyns' religious emblems were defended not only by himself, but also by the Remonstrant Joost van den Vondel in an introductory poem to the *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales*. Vondel praises Heyns for his choice of imagery: his 'Christian images' succeed in connecting the human spirit, created in the likeness of God, with 'God's own nature:'

> Come forth, contemplative soul, and create Godly wealth
> From *Heyns'* sacred Rime and Christian images:
> Not images that arouse amorous feelings
> And feed the Godless altar of the goddess Venus:
> Rather, they release our thoughts from idleness
> And transport our Spirit far beyond all Stars
> Until it tastes Heavenly things, just as it is Heavenly
> And resembles God's nature, as his likeness.
> It seems I am there already—I soar, wholly exuberant.
> I was blind in the realm of the Earth; here my eyes are opened.
> I can see true Salvation through Zacharias' eyeglasses,
> It is turbulent below; peaceful here above.[84]

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[82] 'Een voor-beeld vande Kerck, waer inne menich mensch/Geruster van gemoet sou leven na syn wensch'. Heyns 1625: fol. B3v.

[83] 'God geve dat de Wortel van alle oneenicheden beneven de schadelijcke eersucht eenmael soo ghedempt werde, dat de Kercke te recht by het vermaekelijckste dal vergeleken mach worden'. Heyns 1625: fol. C1r.

[84] 'Komt ingetogen Ziel, schept Goddelijcke weelden//Uyt *Heynsens* heylich Rijm, en Christeliicke beelden:/Gheen beelden, die 't gemoed aenprickelen tot min//En 't Godloos Outer voen van Venus de Goddin:/Maer ons gedachtenis van d'ydelheyt ontwarren//En voeren onse Gheest verr' boven alle Sterren//Tot dat hy 't Hemels smaeckt, geliic hy Hemelsch is//En swijmt na Godes aerd, en sijn geliickenis./My dunct ick bender al, ick sweef gants opghetoghen./Op 't aerdrijck was ic blind: hier krijgh ic open oogen./Ic sie 'twarachtich Heyl door *Zacharias* bril./Beneden ist gevvoel: hier boven isset stil'. Heyns 1625: fol. A2v.

Vondel's poem is a compliment that would not seem out of place in the context of Jesuit emblematics.[85] Vondel does, in fact, go beyond Heyns' own conception of his work: Heyns' imagery was not intended as a means to 'transport our Spirit far beyond all Stars' but rather to visualize some key doctrines of Christian faith, with the beneficial effect limited to the understanding of those teachings.

We can conclude that Heyns combined elements from his own religious denomination with those of another, accepting image material as a means to bolster faith and to stimulate the viewer's senses without adding the Catholic emotional overtone, and that he felt the need to defend this choice in the first emblem of his collection. To make his religious emblems functional for a Protestant audience and to disseminate Protestant ideas, he adapted the Catholic imagery, emphasizing the dominance of the word and the role of hearing rather than sight. Neither Heyns' plea for toleration nor Vondel's contribution resulted in a wide acceptance of this kind of religious emblem in the Republic. The *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* was never reprinted.[86] The publication of this book—an implied commitment to Heyns' ideological intentions—turned out to be a costly and unprofitable enterprise for van Waesberge.[87] Heyns himself seems not to have pursued his ideals any further: in his next volume, *Wegwyser ter Salicheyt* [Guidebook to Salvation] (1629), only the title page was modeled on Catholic iconography, namely on Boetius a Bolswert's engraving for Antoine Sucquet's *Via Vitae Aeternae* (1620).[88]

The Widespread Preference for the Word

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the standard for the Dutch religious emblem was set in Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden*: secular and realistic imagery could be given a religious turn, as long as it

[85] As was recently concluded by Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 484.

[86] As the author of a preliminary poem to the *Emblemes Chrestiennes* astutely predicted, it would take decades before Heyns' initiative came to be appreciated by Protestant poets and readers. See Heyns 1625: fol. iiir.

[87] Only seven copperplates (not the ones discussed in this chapter) were ever reused, namely in Maria Heyns' *Bloemhof der doorluchtige voorbeelden* (published by van Waesberge in 1647; Maria was the daughter of Heyns' brother Jacques). An exemplary case of the confluence of a printer-publisher's religious ideology and his trade is described in McCullough 2008: 285–313.

[88] As noticed in Meeus 2008.

was done together with various other, non-religious interpretations of the same image. The subordinate role assigned to the emblematic imagery in this type of religious instruction, and the fact that non-religious interpretations of the *pictura* were offered as equally valid, limited the possibilities for use in devotional practices such as those common among the Catholics.

Dutch Protestants of all denominations found a far more acceptable means for the edification of the faithful in God's Word in sermons, prayer books, and in hymnbooks with spiritual songs for every occasion.[89] These works were all printed without illustrations: whether this was for financial or ideological reasons—or a combination of the two—is never discussed by authors and publishers. It seems most likely that the drive to keep the costs of these volumes as low as possible played an important role in their decisions. But there were also ideological reasons: in Dirck Pietersz Pers' *Bellerophon of lust tot wysheyt* [Bellerophon or the Craving for Wisdom] (1614), in which secular emblems were mingled with spiritual songs, the illustrating of the texts was restricted to the sections with emblems; no illustrations were added to the songs.[90]

The hymnbooks appear to have been the most popular. They had their origins in the sixteenth-century 'schriftuurlijke liedekens' [scriptural hymns], which were meant to provide comfort for the oppressed as well as to spread propaganda for the doctrine of the different denominations in the Northern Netherlands. Such songs circulated among the earliest Anabaptists, and, later in the sixteenth century, among the Dutch Reformed.[91] These scriptural hymns were soon followed by spiritual songs, which served as a medium of communication between the believers and God, and were thought to be inspired by the Holy Spirit.[92] A popular early seventeenth-century collection of spiritual songs was van Mander's *De gulde harpe* [The Golden Harp].[93] In

[89] On the Dutch song culture as a whole see Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008, passim and Veldhorst 2009.

[90] See on the mix of emblems and songs, Raasveld 1995.

[91] On the difference between these groups' song cultures see Hofman 1993.

[92] As concluded in Spies 1994: 93.

[93] Van Mander's song collection was published from the late sixteenth century onward under various titles and by various printers. An earlier version of *De gulde harpe,* titled *De harpe, oft des herten snarenspel* (Haarlem: Gillis Rooman, 1599), was printed four times between 1599–1610. *De gulde harpe* itself was reprinted at least ten times before 1650, see Heijting 2007: 207.

the preface, he instructs readers and singers to imprint the metaphysical truth of the texts in their hearts.[94] Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke rijmen* was the most popular of all. This hymnbook ran into more than fifty editions in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Dutch Reformed authors also contributed to this religious song culture. Songs of the Dutch Reformed minister Bernardus Busschoff were reportedly sung by thousands of people.[95] The Catholic priest Joannes Stalpaert van der Wielen also published songs, but they were not yet very popular in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[96]

Given the nature of the genre, it is hardly surprising that the ear and aural perceptions were valued highly in the prefaces of these hymnbooks. In the introduction of the *Bellerophon of lust tot wysheyt*, Pers discusses the faculties of all five senses, starting with the eyes: they are capable of viewing the wonders of God, but visual perceptions are nevertheless deceitful. A number of episodes in the Bible (Samson being seduced by Delilah, David being dazzled by Bathsheba) are quoted to prove this point.[97] The eyes are the most agreeable mirrors of one's soul, but can be seducers at the same time. Pers then discusses smell, taste and the tactile sense, which turn out to be equally deceptive. The discussion of the ear starts with the following line: 'But now our attention needs to be focused on the pleasures of the ear'.[98] The ears bring nothing but delight, and are therefore superior to all the other senses, as Pers explains with references to a wide variety of biblical and classical sources. Pers caps this argument by claiming that the ears have always been perceived as the carriers of wisdom: this is why in days of old, the ears of children were kissed by their parents.[99]

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[94] 'singt en speeldt den Heer in 't Hert' [sing and play to the Lord in your heart]; quoted from the 1627 edition, van Mander 1627: fol. *iiir.

[95] Busschoffs volume of hymns, titled *Nieuwe lof-sangen, en geestelijcke Liedekens* [New Paeans of Praise and Spiritual Songs], was reprinted more than twenty times in the seventeenth century. His songs were also distributed on separate leaves. See Busschoff 1694 and Stronks 1996: 22.

[96] See Mullett 1999: 210.

[97] Quoted from the unchanged 'Inleydinge' in the reprint Pers 1669: fol. A5v.

[98] 'Maer alhier letten wy insonderheyt op 't vermaeck van de ooren', Pers 1669: fol. A6r.

[99] 'Waer over de Oude de Ooren, de wijsheyt hebben toegewijt, en hadden oock een gewoonte, dan wanneer zy hare kinderen gemoetreden, dat sy die selve voor de Ooren kusten, lief kosende, 't geene, waer door de wijsheyt wierde gevat', Pers 1669: fol. A6r.

Furthermore, the ear deserves unlimited praise because of 'Christ's promise, *blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it*'.[100]

Religious Toleration and Religious Identities

What does this glimpse into Dutch illustrated religious literature tell us about interconfessional relations, and about the way in which denominations defined their religious identities in the first quarter of the seventeenth century?

The rejection of the illustrated Bible and the specific iconography of the Catholic religious emblem, as well as the development of alternative, independent standards for the illustration of religious literature—the picture Bible, religious emblems as created by Cats—all point toward the intention to consolidate the difference between the Protestant and Catholic identity: almost all of the visual literary practices of the Catholics in the Southern Netherlands were ignored in the Republic before 1630. Even though there were substantial areas of borrowing and overlap in the use of devotional texts—see for instance Teellinck's use of Thomas à Kempis *De imitatione Christi*—the Protestant literature produced to enhance the spirituality of the readers was devoid of imagery, the instrument the Catholics had effectively employed for the purpose of internalizing devotional reading practices. Heyns' efforts to evoke some devotional responses with his religious emblems were unsuccessful.[101] The turn to the devotional was in general not cordially welcomed: Pers, who introduced the devotional work of the German Lutheran writer Johann Arndt in the Republic in the 1620s, did not find much response either, and Teellinck's views on the need for spiritual enhancement of one's faith certainly did not set the tone in the Dutch Reformed Church in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[102]

The very existence of the religious interpretations given in Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden* as well as the publication of Heyns' *Emblemes*

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[100] 'de belofte *Christi, datse saligh zijn die Godts Woord hooren en dat bewaren*', Pers 1669: fol. A6r.

[101] See Beeke and Pederson 2006: 785–786.

[102] As Ferdinand van Ingen concluded, the reception of Pers' edition of Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (first printed as a collected volume in 1610) seemed to be restricted to a small group of (Lutheran) readers in the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century. See Arndt 2007 and van Ingen 2005: 3–15.

Chrestiennes et Morales indicate that iconoclastic sentiments did not completely restrict Dutch Protestant poetics. Cats and Heyns were apparently allowed to produce religious emblems, and to have them printed and distributed. Their religious emblems, together with the growing amount of imagery found in Dutch Reformed churches, show that there was no need in either the public or the private sphere to avoid every hint of Catholic influence.[103] Catholic influences were, however, to be disguised and concealed, rather than openly displayed: hence Cats' alternative use of the secular image in the religious emblem, and Heyns' silence about his Catholic sources.

The fact that Heyns, although a Protestant, never became a member of one of the Protestant denominations is significant in relation to his efforts to use the achievements of the Catholic emblematic tradition for his own purposes. His position outside the Dutch Reformed Church gave him the independence needed for this kind of endeavor. It can hardly have been a coincidence that the Remonstrant Vondel supported Heyns' approach, while both Cats and de Brune, being fervently Dutch Reformed, showed more restraint in writing their emblems. The year in which Heyns' *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* was printed, 1625, could also have been of relevance: the stadholder Maurits died in that year, to be succeeded by the more tolerant Frederik Hendrik.[104]

The difficulties Paets experienced when trying to publish the *Pia Desideria* in the Republic, as well as the tendency of Dutch Catholic authors to have their works printed in the Southern Netherlands, reinforce and amplify the conclusion drawn by Parker in his *Faith on the Margins* that, although confessional coexistence was practiced in the Republic, the Dutch Catholics—being a minority—were restricted in displaying their confession in the public sphere, at least during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[105] Supplementing Parker's

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[103] Mochizuki 2005: 137–162, esp. 148 and 151.

[104] There are more indications that the new political situation opened opportunities for cultural change. In 1625 Rembrandt painted *The Stoning of Stephen*, which has been interpreted as criticism of the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. The same year brought the publication of Vondel's tragedy *Palamades*, which was also clearly intended as criticism. See Perlove and Silver 2009: 28.

[105] Parker explicitly takes issue with the commonly held idea that those (cultural) restrictions were minimal. Ethan Shagan concluded that the same can be said for the English situation, in his 'Introduction' to *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation'. Religious politics and identity in early modern England*: there is 'an emphasis on consensus, quietude, and ideological indifference. […] the work of Ian Green and Muriel McClendon has emphasized the quest for consensus (if not always its achievement)

thesis is the conclusion that there seems to have been little interest among Dutch readers in Catholic religious practices: Heyns' attempt to introduce some of the Catholic iconography in the Republic was far from successful.[106] As a businessman, Heyns' publisher van Waesberge perhaps hoped to profit from a concealed interest in illustrated devotional literature among Protestants in the Republic, but little interest was shown.

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, discussions among Protestant theologians as well as poets focused on the meaning and role of God's Word in establishing the contours of the new faith, and were based on the conviction that God's Word could have only a single meaning. It was precisely on this point that toleration was hard to find, especially around the time of the Synod of Dordt in 1618: the Protestants not only opposed the Catholics, but were internally divided as a result of the disputes between the Counter-Remonstrants and Remonstrants. In the perception of Counter-Remonstrants, the right interpretation of the Word ought to provide the foundation of the Dutch Reformed Church, hence the decision taken at the Synod of Dordt to have the Bible translated into Dutch from the original Hebrew and Greek (the Dutch States Bible), and to enrich it with notes, paraphrases and cross-references that directed the reader to a variety of related biblical texts. Hence, too, the search for verbal rituals (formulas for baptism and communion) that could give shape to the sacraments of the Church. Accuracy, credibility, and authority were the preoccupations of the Counter-Remonstrants in their struggle to ground the Republic on the right way of interpreting the Bible.[107] The disappearance of the Dutch picture Bible between 1617 and 1637 can perhaps be related to the fierce controversies of this period.

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and common pietistic practices among nearly all English Christians. […] By minimizing the importance of religious differences in this period, these historians have missed the importance of polemic, an ironically productive arena of interaction between Protestant and Catholic communities. Early modern religion was not only about formal beliefs and practices, but also about the ways those beliefs and practices were *glossed*.'. Shagan 2005: 13.

[106] See Benedict 1999: 26.

[107] These values, based on the constellation of reader, text, referent and writer, are identified as the cornerstones of the Reformation as a whole, in Morgan 2005: 89. Morgan refers to the Reformation as the period in which the concept of 'textuality' was developed, with cultural ramifications such as the written regulation of education, legislation and religious faith, on the assumption that there was such a thing as the correct decoding of the written message, the univocal meaning of texts.

The essence of these disputes is forcefully stated in the preface to the *Schriftmatige belijdenisse der oprechter Gereformeerder christelycker religie* [Scriptural Confession of the Genuine Dutch Reformed Faith], dating from 1628 and written by Rippertus Sixtus, a Dutch Reformed minister from Hoorn. First, he establishes the connection between God's genuine church and His Word:

> The sound preaching and orthodox proclamation of the pure and unadulterated Word of God is such a firm, indubitable and infallible characteristic of the true and genuine Church of Jesus Christ, that without it the true Church cannot be found anywhere on the face of the earth, just as the pure Word of God is not found outside the true Church.[108]

Then he discusses how all denominations but the Dutch Reformed deviate from this prerequisite because the reading of God's Word no longer forms the basis of their actions. The Catholics have 'led the blind people into idolatrous invocations of angels and human beings [saints] and into the lamentable worship of images'.[109] The Remonstrants have misinterpreted God's Word to 'lure the simple minded, who are not used to reading God's Word on their own, toward their newly devised doctrine'.[110] Even when no polemics were intended, they tended to creep in and dominate. In 1626 Teellinck collaborated with the irenic Anabaptist printer Jacob Colom in publishing his *Christi waerschouwinge* [Christ's Warning].[111] It was difficult to follow through on these irenic intentions, however: in the preface to another publication dating from 1626, *Christelijcke aensprake* [Address to Christians], Teellinck explained that he appreciated literature written in support of Christian piety much more than any book or treatise written to divide

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[108] 'De suyvere Predikatie, ende rechtsinnighe verkondighe van 't reyne ende onvervalschte Woordt Godts, is sulcken vasten, ongetwijfelden ende onbedriegelijcken *Merck-teecken* van de ware ende oprechte *Kercke Iesu Christi*, datse sonder deselve nergens op den ganschen Aerdbodem en kan gevonden worden, gelijck oock niet het *suyvere Woordt Godts*, buyten de *ware Kercke*'. Quoted in the fourth edition, Sixtus 1649: fol. *3r. Sixtus wrote a number of polemical treatises (such as the pamphlet *Practycke over 't voornaemste leerstuck der Contra-Remonstrantsch-ghezinden*, s.l., 1618) as well as some devotional works (such as *Geestelycke Tryumphe des kinderen Godts*. Leeuwarden, pr. C. Fonteyne, 1632).

[109] 'het blinde volck seer jammerlijck afgeleydet tot de afgodische aenroepinge der Engelen ende der menschen; tot den verdrietelicken Beeldendienst […]' . Sixtus 1649: fol. *6r.

[110] 'eenvoudighen lieden, die geen geoefende sinnen in Gods woort en hebben, af […] trecken, tot hare nieuwe opgeworpene leeringhen'. Sixtus 1649: fol. *7r.

[111] Colom was widely known for his striving for more religious toleration, as argued in Visser 1978: 268–282.

Christians. The kind of Christian unity for which he strove could easily be realized, he concluded, if all of the Dutch accepted the one and only right—that is, Dutch Reformed—interpretation of God's Word.[112]

This firm stance left no leverage whatsoever for other denominations: the Dutch Reformed emphasis on the Word dominated the literary practices of all other religious groups during the first decades of the seventeenth century.

[112] See Op 't Hof 2008: 330; and see also Westerink 2002: 33–35.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIVERGING ROADS 1630–1653

After a period of restrictions on the use of religious imagery, a new fashion in picture Bibles developed among a wide audience in the Republic in the late 1630s. From 1637 onward Catholic and Protestant printers, publishers, poets and engravers set aside their ideological and theological differences and worked together to produce dozens of picture Bibles which were interconfessional in nature.

In the 1630s, experiments involving imagery were also carried out in other literary genres, such as the religious emblem and the prayer book. In these genres the confessional differences were, however, emphasized rather than ignored, allowing us to reconstruct the development of clearly defined and differentiated religious identities.

A New Fashion in Picture Bibles

After the efforts made by de Passe and Colijn between 1610 and 1620, the Dutch Reformed publisher Claes Jansz Visscher was the first to take a new initiative to produce a Dutch picture Bible. He did so in 1637, the year the first edition of the Dutch States Bible was also published. This can hardly have been a coincidence: publishers were dreading the effect the Dutch States Bible would have on their business, especially since the States-General planned to allot the privileges of printing the States Bible to only one publisher.[1] To counter this uncertainty, Visscher resorted to publishing a reprint of the picture Bible *David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimae probatum deo spectaculum* [David, or the Spectacle of Well-Exercised Virtue Pleasing to God], first produced in Antwerp in 1575 by Plantin with engravings by Philip Galle. Each plate depicted a scene from David's life with an explanation of its moral implications in four lines of Latin verse by Benedictus Arias

[1] Despite the States-General's intentions, the States Bible was soon produced by more than one publisher, as argued in van Capelleveen 1996: 145 and 157, and Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 270.

Montanus, a Catholic who had also worked on Plantin's famous polyglot edition of the Bible.[2]

Commercially speaking, there was only a small risk involved in investing in this picture Bible since Visscher re-used existing copper plates. From an ideological point of view, the risks involved were not excessive because the first edition of the Dutch States Bible was also issued with illustrations: it contained an engraved title page as well as ornamented initials representing biblical stories. Visscher may have known about this in advance, since the first proofs of the States Bible were completed in December 1636.[3] With the ornamented initials, the layout of the 1637 edition of the Dutch States Bible resembled that of the Catholic Moerentorf edition made in 1599 in Antwerp.

The initials as well as a symbolic representation of the Holy Trinity at the top of the title page were removed from later editions at the request of some regional synods (see Figs. 23 and 24).[4]

As the commotion surrounding the imagery in the Dutch States Bible makes clear, the Dutch Reformed still opposed the addition of any imagery to the Bible: Dutch Bible translations for Protestants were to remain unillustrated.

The concept of the picture Bible, however, as re-introduced by Visscher, was again warmly welcomed in the Republic in 1637. Visscher's first production was soon followed by three more, all thanks to the fact that Visscher was able to buy part of Colijn's commercial assets at an auction.[5] Visscher limited his business risks by making some changes in the existing plates, and by avoiding texts that could possibly give rise to confessional disputes. In 1638, he launched a reprint of the reproductions after the frescoes by Raphael in the Vatican Loggia, under the title *Historia del Testamento Vecchio*. The anthropomorphic representations of God depicted in the original etchings were removed (see Fig. 25).[6]

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[2] On the intentions of Montanus and Galle see Melion 2005: 74–90.

[3] See on the printing history of the Dutch States Bible de Bruin and Broeyer 1993: 236. On the illustrations in the first edition of the Dutch States Bible see van der Coelen 1997: 30–36. The publisher of the first edition, Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn had used similar (but smaller) ornamented initials in his earlier publications, which were his unique trademark, see Dijstelberge 2007: 35 and 46.

[4] De Bruin and Broeyer 1993: 292.

[5] Van der Coelen 1998: 215.

[6] Van der Coelen 1998: 226.

C Dat eerste Boeck Moysi / int Hebreeusch ghenoemt Bereschith, int Grieck Genesis, int Duytsche / dat Boeck des voortcomsels oft der Scheppinghen.

Hoe Godt Hemel ende aerde, ende al datter in bevanghen is, gheschepen heeft, Ende hoe hy den menschen gheschepen heeft, hem gevende overhandt over alle sijn wercken.

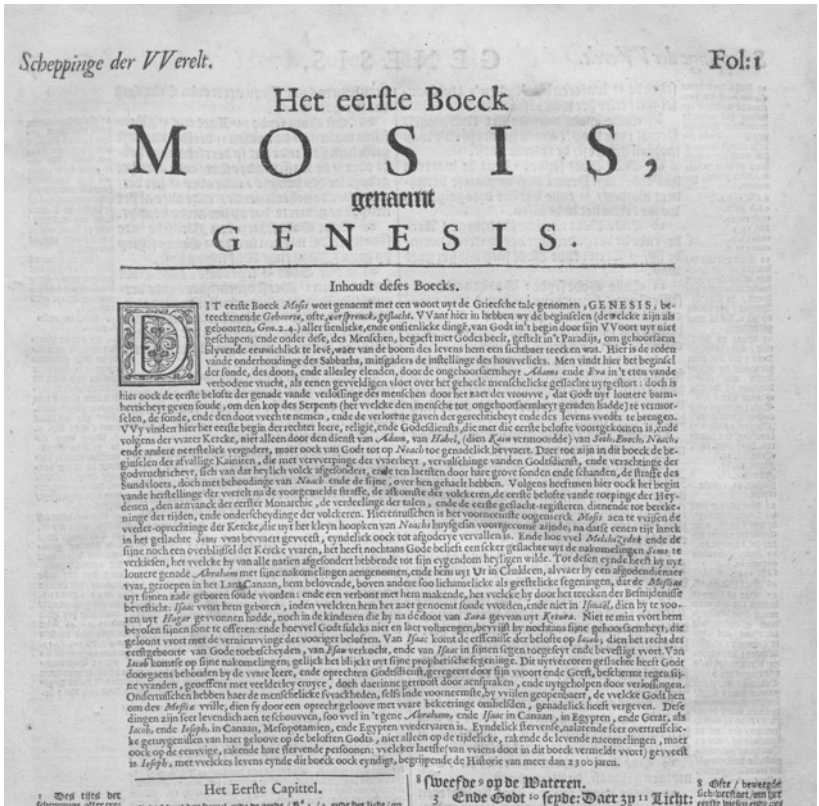
DAT I. CAPITTEL.

IN den beginne heeft Godt gheschapen Hemel ende Aerde: Maer de Aerde was ydel ende ledich, ende de duysternissen waren op t'platte des afgronts, ende den Geest Godts dreef op de wateren. Ende God heeft geseyt: Dat het licht worde, ende het licht is geworden.

Ende God heeft het licht gheschen dattet goet was, ende hy heeft dat licht van de duysternisse gescheyden, ende hy heeft d'licht ghenoemt dach, ende de duysternissen nacht, ende tis geworden avont ende morghen, eenen dach. Ende God heeft geseyt: Daer worde een firmament int midden der wateren, ende t'scheyde de wateren van de wateren. Ende God heeft het firmament gemaect, ende heeft de wateren die onder het firmament waren, gescheyden van de wateren die boven het firmament waren, ende het is also geschiet. Ende God heeft het firmament genoemt Hemel, ende het is geworden avont ende morghen, den tweeden dach.

Ende Godt heeft geseyt: Dat de wateren die onder den Hemel zijn vergadert worde op een plaetse, dat het drooge gesien worde. Ende het is also geschiet. Ende Godt heeft het drooge genoemt Aerde, ende de vergaderinghe der wateren heeft hy ghenoemt Zee. Ende God heeft gesien dattet goet was, ende hy heeft geseyt: Dat de Aerde voorts spruyte groenende ende besayende crupt, ende fruythout, vrucht-baerende naer sijnen aert, wiens saet in hem selve sy op der aerden. Ende het is also geschiet. Ende de Aerde heeft groenende crupt voorts gebracht, ende saedende nae sijnen aert, ende vruchtbaer hout, hebbende elck zijn saetsel op sijnen aert. Ende God heeft gesien dattet goet was. Ende het is geworden avont ende morgen den derden dach. Ende God heeft geseyt: dat worden lichten in het firmament des Hemels, ende dat die scheyden den dach ende den nacht, ende datse zijn tot teeckenen, ende tijden, ende daghen, ende iaren. Op dat sy schijnen int firmament des Hemels, ende de aerde verlichten. Ende het is also geschiet. Ende God heeft twee groote lichten gemaeckt, dat meerdere licht om datter over den dach zijn soude, ende het mindere licht, dattet over den nacht zijn soude, ende sterren. Ende hy heeft die gheset in firmament des Hemels, dat sy opter aerden souden lichten, ende dat sy souden over den dach ende nacht zijn, ende dat sy het licht ende de duysternisse scheyden souden. Ende God heeft gesien dattet goet was. Ende tis geworden avont ende morgen, den vierden dach. Ende God heeft oock geseyt: Dat de wateren voorts brengen het ghewemelte des levende siele, ende t'gevogelte boven de aerde onder het firmament des Hemels. Ende God heeft groote walvisschen geschapen, ende alderhande levende ende roerende sielen, welck de wateren voorts gebracht hadden tot haer pegelijck aert, ende alle ghevogelte naer sijnen aert. Ende God heeft gesien dattet goet ware. Ende hy heeft die gesegent, seggende: Wasset ende vermeneret, ende verbuyt de wateren der zee, ende de voghelen der meeren hen op de aerde. Ende het is geworden avont ende morghen, den vijfsten dach. Ende Godt heeft oock geseyt: De aerde brenge voorts levende sielen naer haren aert, zoene, ieck, vee, ende cruppelingen, ende beesten der aerden naer haren aert. Ende het is also geschiet. Ende God heeft gemaect de beesten der aerden naer hare besondere aert, ende het ioc, vee, ende alle cruppelinc naer sijnen aerde. Ende God heeft gesien dattet goet was. Ende heeft geseyt:

Fig. 22 *Biblia sacra, dat is de geheele Heylighe Schrifture bedeylt int Oudt ende Nieu Testament*. Antwerpen: Jan Moerentorf, 1599, fol A1r.


Scheppinge der VVerelt. Fol:1

Het eerste Boeck

MOSIS,

genaemt

GENESIS.

Inhoudt deses Boecks.

DIT eerste Boeck *Mosis* wort genaemt met een woort uyt de Grieefsche tale genomen, GENESIS, beteeckenende *Geboorte*, ofte, *oorspronck, geslachte*. VVant hier in hebben wy de beginselen (dewelcke zijn als geboomten, *Gen.* 2. 4.) aller sienlicke, ende onsienlicke dinge, van Godt in't begin door sijn VVoort uyt niet geschapen; ende onder dese, des Menschen, begaeft met Godes beelt, gestelt in't Paradijs, om gehoorsaem blyvende eeuwichlick te leve, waer van de boom des levens hem een lichtbaer teecken was. Hier is de reden vande onderhoudinge des Sabbaths, mitsgaders de instellinge des houwelicks. Hem vindt hier het beginsel der sonde, des doots, ende allerley elenden, door de ongehoorsaemheyt *Adams* ende *Eva* in't eten vande verbodene vrucht, als eenen gevveldigen vloet over het geheele menschelicke geslachte uyte-eltort: doch is hier oock de eerste belofte der genade vande verlostinge des menschen door het zaet der vrouvve, dat Godt nyt loutere barmhertigheyt geven soude, om den kop des Serpents (het vvelcke den menschе tot ongehoorsaemheyt gewoden hadde) te vermorselen, de sonde, ende den doot vvechte te nemen, ende de verlorne gaven der gerechticheyt ende des levens vvedte te brengen. VVy vinden hier het eerste begin der rechter leere, religie, ende Godesdienst, die met die eerste belofte voortgekomen is, ende volgens der vvater Kercke, niet alleen door den dienst van *Adam*, van *Habel*, (dien *Kain* vermoordde) van *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noach*, ende andere meerstelick vergndert, maer oock van Godt tot op *Noach* toe genadelick bevvaert. Daer toe zijn in dit boeck de beginselen der afvallige Kainisten, die met vervverpinge des vvaerheyt, vervalschinge vanden Godtsdienst, ende verscheringe der godvruchticheyt, sich van dat heylich volck afgesondert, ende ten laetsten door hare grove sonden ende schanden, de sluysse des Sandvloets, doch met behoudinge van *Noach* ende de sijne, over hen gehaelt hebben. Volgens heeftmen hier oock het begin vande herstellinge der vvereldt na de voorgemelde straffe, de afkomste der volckeren, de eerste belofte vande roepinge der Heydenen, den aenvanck der eerster Monarchie, de verdeelinge der talen, ende de eerste geslacht-registeren dienende tot berekeninge der tijden, ende onderscheydinge der volckeren. Hierentusschen is het voornaemste oogemerck *Mosis* aen te vvijsen de vvedet-oprechtinge der Kercke, die uyt het kleyn hoopken van *Noachs* huysgesin voortgecomen zijnde, na dattse eenen tijt lanck in het geslachte *Sems* vvas bevvaert geveest, eyndelick oock tot afgoderye vervallen is. Ende hoe vvel *Melchizedek* ende de sijne noch een overblijsel der Kercke vvaren, het heeft nochtans Gode believt een seker geslachte uyt de nakomelingen *Sems* te verkiesen, het vvelcke hy van alle natien afgesondert hebbende tot sijn eygendom heylsgen wilde. Tot desen eynde heeft hy uyt loutere gonade *Abrahom* met sijne nakomelingen aengenomen, ende hen uyt Vr in Chaldeen, alvaer hy een afgoodendienner vvas, geroepen in het Land Canaan, hem belovende, boven andere soo lichamelicke als geestelicke segeningen, dat de *Messias* uyt sinen zade geboren soude vvorden: ende een verbont met hem makende, het vvelcke hy door het teecken der Besnijdenisse bevestiche: *Isaac* vvort hem geboren, inden vvelcken hem het zaet genoemt soude vvorden, ende niet in *Ismael*, dien hy te voren uyt *Hagar* gevvonnen hadde, noch in de kinderen die hy na de doot van *Sara* gevvan uyt *Ketura*. Niet te min vvort hem beyolen sijnen sone te offeren: ende hoevvel Godt sulcks niet en liet voltrecken, beyvijst hy nochtans sijne gehoorsaemheyt, die geloont vvort met de vernieuvvinge der vooriger belofren. Van *Isaac* komt de erfsenisse der belofte op *Jacob*, dien het recht der eerstgeboorte van Godt toebescheyden, van *Isaac* verkocht, ende van *Isaac* in sijnen segen toegeseyt ende bevestigt vvort. Van *Jacob* komtse op sijne nakomelingen; gelijck het blijckt uyt sijne prophetische segeninge. Dit uytvercoren geslachte heeft Godt doorgaens behouden by de vvare leere, ende oprechten Godtsdienst, gevvrocht door aenspraken, ende uytgeschulpen door verbaslingen. Ondertusschen hebben haer de menschelicke svvackheden, selfs inde voornemste, by vvijlen geopenbaert, de vvelcke Godt hen om des *Messiæ* vville, dien sy door een oprecht geloove met vvare bekeringe ombelsden, genadelick heeft vergeven. Dese dingen zijn seer levendich aen te schouvven, soo vvel in 't gene *Abrahom*, ende *Isaac* in Canaan, in Egypten, ende Gerar, als *Jacob*, ende *Joseph*, in Canaan, Mesopotamien, ende Egypten vvedervaren is. Eyndelick siet vende, nalatende seer overtreffelicke geloyvigen van haer geloove op de beloften Godts, niet alleen op de tijdelicke, rakende de levende natenemelingen, maer oock op de eeuvvige, rakende hare stervende persoonen: vvelcker laetste/van vviens doot in dit boeck vermeldt vvort) gevveest is *Joseph*, met vvelckes levens eynde dit boeck ock eyndigt, begrijpende de Historie van meer dan 2300 jaren.

Het Eerste Capittel.

1 Godt schept den hemel ende de aerde / 3 het licht / op den eersten dach / 5. 9 op de tweeden / het uytspansel / met scheydinge der onderste ende hoogste vvateren / 6. 9 op den derden / schepping der vvassende gewassen / 9. 14 op den vierden / de Sonne / Maen / ende Sterren / 14. 20 op den vijfden / ende groote Dieren / ende vissen / 20. 24 op den sesten / het gedierte / ende het Menschelick lichaem / 24. 26 Ende op 't laetste / den Menschе / Man ende Vvijf / naer sijn beeldt / gevveldige hem vvereldt-vvaerde / ende stellende hem over alle dinge / 26. 29 Godt onderscheydinge de spijse des Menschen / ende der Schepsels / 29. 31 Ende alle sijne schepselen vvort goet / 31.

1 NDEN 1 a begin[ne] 2 schiep Godt de 3 Hemel / ende de Aerde. 2 De 4 Aerde nu was 5 woest en 6 ledich / en duysternisse was 7 op den afgront: ende de 8 Geest Godts

9 sweefde 9 op de Vvateren.

3 Ende Godt 10 seyde: Daer zy 11 Licht: ende daer vvert Licht.

4 Ende Godt 12 sach het Licht / dat het 13 goet vvas: ende Godt 14 maeckte scheydinge tusschen het Licht / ende tusschen de duysternisse.

5 Ende Godt noemde het Licht Dach / ende de Duysternisse noemde hy Nacht: Doe vvas't 15 avont geweest / ende 't vvas morgen geweest / de 16 eerste Dach.

6 b En Godt seyde: Daer zy een 17 Uytspansel in het midden der Vvateren: ende 18 dat make scheydinge tusschen de Vvateren / ende Vvateren.

7 Ende Godt maeckte dat Uytspansel / ende maeckte scheydinge tusschen de Vvateren / 20 die onder 't Uytspansel zijn / en tus-

8 Ofte / bevvegde

Fig. 23 *Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture*. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637.

BIBLIA,
Dat is:
De gantſche H. Schrifture,
vervattende alle de Canonijcke
Boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen
TESTAMENTS.
Nu Eerſt,
Door laſt der Hoogh-Mog: HEEREN
STATEN GENERAEL
vande Vereenighde Nederlanden, en volgens het
Beſluyt van de Synode Nationael gehouden tot
Dordrecht, inde Iaeren 1618. ende 1619.
Uyt de Oorſpronckelijcke talen in onſe
Neder-landtſche tale getrouwelijck over-geſet.
Met nieuwe by-gevoegde Verklaringen op de duyſtere
plaetſen, aenteeckeningen vande gheluck-luydende
Texten, ende nieuwe Regiſters over by-sic de
TESTAMENTEN.
Tot LEYDEN,
Gedruckt by Paulus Aertſz. van Ravenſteyn,
Voor de Weduwe ende Erfgenamen van wijlen Hillebrant Jacobsz.
van Wouw, Ordinaris Druckers vande Hoogh-Mog: Heeren
STATEN GENERAEL.
Met Priuilegie voor 15. Iaren.

Fig. 24 Title page *Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture*. Leiden: Paulus Aertsz. van Ravensteyn, for the widow of Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw, 1637.

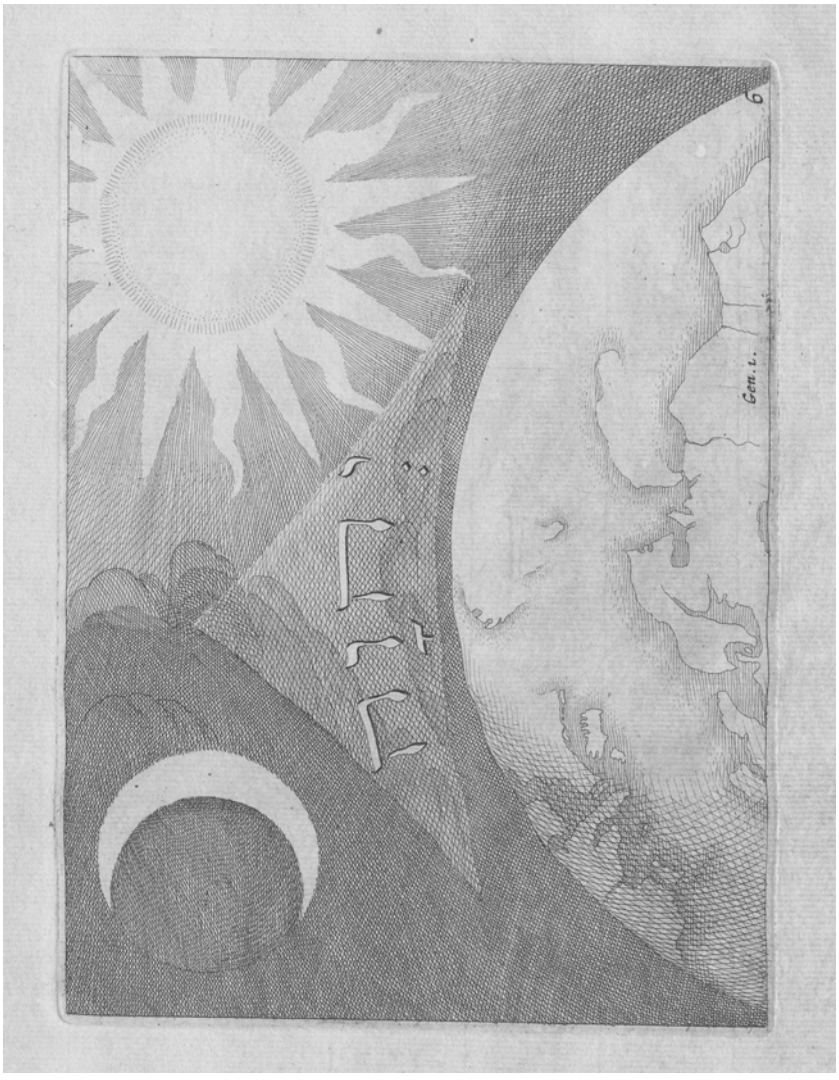


Fig. 25 Title page Raphael, *Historia del Testamento Vecchio*. Amsterdam: Nicolaes Visscher, 1638, fol. 6.

For his next production, the *Theatrum Biblicum* dating from 1639, Visscher re-used plates made by engravers in and outside the Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. On this occasion, the representation of God in a copperplate originally made by Maarten van Heemskerck in the sixteenth century was replaced by the inscription of the word Jahweh to forestall controversies.[7] The two series of plates made for Hiël's *Imagines et Figurae Bibliorum* were used in Visscher's *Biblia, hoc est vetus et novum testamentum iconibus expressum opera et studio Petri vander Burght* and in the *Emblemata Sacra*, both also dating from 1639. Visscher removed the accompanying texts so as to avoid any confessional disputes and did not include Hiël's exhortation to use the prints for a spiritual reading of the Bible. The anthropomorphic depictions of God—originally present in the oldest series—were also removed from the plates.[8] The Visscher family produced nine picture Bibles in the decades to come, under different titles and in various formats and sizes, including the very small *Tooneel ofte vertooch der Bybelsche historien*.

Here just one line of text, the ultimate summary of the depicted biblical story, was added to the images. The almost miniature format reveals that publishers did whatever they could to make these relatively expensive illustrated volumes affordable for the less well-off, while at the same time producing luxury editions such as the *Royaal Bijbel.* This large-format volume was printed on costly paper and included engravings of Old Testament scenes based on paintings by Rubens.[9]

Other Protestant publishers such as Cornelis Danckertz and Jacob Saverij soon followed Visscher's lead.[10] Over the years, some new plates made by seventeenth-century engravers such as Mathias Merian and Pieter Hendricksz Schut, which were originally used to make prints for separate sale as wall decorations, were also used for these picture Bibles. This resulted in a flood of picture Bibles on the Dutch market.[11]

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[7] See Veldman 1999: esp. 418–419.

[8] Van der Coelen 1998: 166–167.

[9] By 1620 Rubens' paintings were known in the Republic, following his work with Dutch engravers to have his paintings reproduced as prints; in 1619–1620, Rubens obtained the privileges for his print production for France and the Low Countries, see van der Coelen 1998: 135–139 and 216; and van der Coelen 2006b: 45.

[10] See for more details of this printing history Poortman 1983–1986; and van der Coelen 1994–1995: 106–120; and van der Coelen 1998: 169–172.

[11] See on the use and re-use of these prints van der Waals 2006: esp. 72–111.

Fig. 26 *Tooneel ofte vertooch der Bybelsche historien.* Amsterdam: Nicolaes Visscher, 1659, fol. 81.

The production of these picture Bibles was not organized along confessional lines. Publishers could give their products their own touch by selecting a specific series of plates; some plates were slightly changed to remove Catholic residues, but for the rest plates and texts were freely shared.[12] Even the Catholics joined in the new fashion, adapting themselves to the common denominator by emphasizing the value of the accompanying texts. In 1644, when Paets continued his career as a publisher by printing the *Historien ende prophecien uut der H. Schrifturen* (based on woodcuts by van Sichem), he underscored the importance of the texts in the 'Prologe' to the edition, explaining that the prayers were sometimes very elaborate in order to fully elucidate 'the spiritual treasures and pearls hidden in the field of Scripture':[13]

> for although these prayers consist of many words, the purpose is not to give instruction about God but to increase the fervor of the person praying.[14]

It was again a perfect compromise between the dominant Protestant tradition and Paets' own agenda. The same is true of the *Vierighe meditatien* dating from 1631; here Paets succeeded in exploiting the emotional potential of illustrated religious texts in a manner that was also acceptable to non-Catholics.

Aspects of Visual Culture: The Literal Bible Illustration and the Value of Religious Art

The interconfessional production of picture Bibles was facilitated by the general belief that God's Word could be depicted literally, and that the purpose of Bible illustrations was simply to inform and educate the reader, to the best of the artist's abilities. As a result of this consensus, the Bible illustrations were all very much alike, containing few allegorical elements, or none at all. They were presented by publishers as literal representations of the biblical stories they depicted: in titles

[12] The re-used sixteenth-century plates were very often based on the Vulgate, as argued in Tümpel 1991: esp. 22. This did not seem to hinder their seventeenth-century re-use.

[13] 'die geestelijcke rijckdommen ende Peerlen, […] daer in den Acker der Schrifturen verborgen'. *Historien ende prophecien* 1644: fol. A2v.

[14] 'want al hebben die gebeden in hen veel woorden dat en is niet gedaen om God te onderwijsen, maer dat die bidder, tot meerder vyericheydt gebrocht soude worden'. Paets 1644, fol. A3r.

as well as prefaces of the picture Bibles it was repeated over and over again that the plates gave genuine and true depictions of biblical stories and were meant to impart factual knowledge.[15]

Frequent discussions among painters and engravers as well as authors reveal the widespread assumption that such literalness could be achieved, providing some considerations were taken into account. The Leiden professor of rhetoric and history Gerardus Vossius narrowed all problems surrounding the issue down to these guidelines: 'One should reproduce whatever God's book says, use sparingly what is not mentioned in His Word, and under no circumstances contradict it'.[16] Vossius delivered these guidelines as an aid to authors who aimed to rework biblical stories into stage plays, but his advice was—mutatis mutandis—also applicable to engravings and paintings.

One of the painters discussing the issue was the Dutch Reformed Philips Angel, in a treatise written in support of the painters in Leiden in 1642.[17] According to Angel, besides studying the Bible itself, one should conduct a careful and broad reading of other textual sources to gain the kind of knowledge needed to create detailed depictions of the biblical subjects and to keep the 'eyghentlickheyt' [literally: 'authenticity', also 'individuality'] of the scene intact.[18] In this process, some artistic liberties were inevitable, as acknowledged by Angel in his discussion of a painting of Jan Lievens on the sacrifice of Isaac:

> I found something similarly special but natural in a small grisaille by Jan Lievens, in which he painted the sacrifice of the patriarch Abraham, which was very unusual yet natural. It accorded with the description given by Josephus, the Jewish historian, at the end of the 13th chapter of the first book, where he says that after God had stayed Abraham's hand they embraced one another (as if they had newly found each other) and kissed. That great mind depicted this very distinctively (albeit roughly), showing the burnt offering smoking while they embraced. You see, this license is justified, that one may read more than one book in order to arrive at a more varied knowledge of the histories. It might be one with

[15] As also concluded in van der Coelen 1998: 177 and 195.

[16] ''t Geen Gods boek zeit noodzakelijk, 't geen het niet zeit spaarzaam, 't geen hiertegen strijdt geenszins te zeggen'. Quoted in Smits-Veldt 1991: 59.

[17] Angel was baptized in the Dutch Reformed 'Nieuwe Kerk' in Middelburg. He did not choose religious subjects for his own work, but instead painted barn interiors with emphasis on the still life element, and still lifes with food, dishes and kitchen objects sometimes known as *ontbijtjes* [breakfast pieces], see Blok, Molhuysen and Kossmann 1911: 146.

[18] See on the concept of 'eyghentlickheyt', Tummers 2009.

a more lengthy description or explanation, the essence or most certain part of which the painter must imitate using his good judgment. For it is believable that Abraham embraced Isaac, even if the Bible does not say so, for Isaac had been torn from him (by God's command) and, as he obediently honored God's request, was as good as lost. But after displaying sufficient obedience by freely offering up his son, the latter's restoration undoubtedly brought as much joy to his old father's heart as it had previously been troubled and mournful, that there can be no doubt that he took his son in his arms and pressed him to his breast when he saw him return as if from the dead. For Christ testifies, in the parable of the Prodigal Son in Luke 15:20, that when his father saw him coming from afar he ran towards him and fell on his neck, seeing his son return who had been lost. Behold, Christ, wishing to express the love a father has for the son he has found again, shows us him embracing the son. How truer this would have been of Abraham, who had his son restored to him, in whom the covenant came true that 'all generations would be blessed in him,' now that he found him out of danger. Such uncommon naturalness is therefore justified and most praiseworthy if done by a painter.[19]

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[19] Translation quoted from Angel 1996: 246–247. 'Soo yet bysonders; doch natuerlicx heb' ick bevonden in een *graentje* van *Jan Lievensz.* daer hy de offerhanden des *Patriarchs Abraham* in affghemaelt hadd', doch gansch onghemeen, en evenwel eygentlick, volgens de beschrijvinghe *Iosepht den Iood'sen Hystori Schrijver, in 't Eerste Boeck op 't leste vant* 13de. *Cappittel*, alwaer hy seyt, dat, na Godt het voornemen van *Abraham* ghestudt hadd', sy malkanderen (als van nieuws ghevonden) omhelsden, en kuste, het welcke dese groote *Geest* seer aerdich (hoewel rou) uyt gebeelt heeft, latende den Brantoffer smoocken, terwijle sy den ander omvatten. Siet! dese vryheyt is gheoorloft dat yemandt om tot meerder veranderlicke kennisse der Hystorien te komen, meer als een Boeck doorlesen mach, het sy een die het breeder beschrijft, of uytleyt, waer van den *Schilder* door sijn goet oordeel dat hy heeft, het eyghenlicxste en seeckerste moet nabootsen, want dat hier *Abraham Isaack* omhelst heeft is ghelooffelick, schoon de *Bybel* daer gheen ghewach van en maect, want *Isack* was *Abraham* (door het ghebodt *Godts*) los ghestelt, ende soo hy de begheerte *Godts* ghehoorsamelick na—quam, ghenoechsaem als verlooren, maer hem, dien door de ghenoechsame ghehoorsaemheyt, die hy in de ghewillige op-offeringe sijns *zoons* betoont hadde, wederom gegeven zijnde, heeft buyten twijffel in dien *oude Vaders* herte so groote vreughde doen ontstaen, alsser te voren een harde en droeve indruck gheweest is, en sijn *zoon* buyten twijffel (dien hy als van de doodt sach weder komen,) daerom in sijn armen ghenomen, ende aen de borst ghedruct: want *Christus*, voorstellende by *Luce* 15 *Cap. vers.* 20. van de *Verlooren zoon*, ghetuyght, dat wanneer de *Vader* hem van verre sach komen, is hem te ghemoet gheloopen, ende om den hals ghevloghen, siende sijnen *zoon* weder tot hem komen die verlooren was gheweest. Siet, *Christus* willende uyt-drucken de toegheneghentheyt die een *Vader* tot sijn wederghevonden *zoon* draeght, stelt *hem* sijn *zoon* omvattende, ons voor; hoe veel te meer dan *Abraham* die sijn *zoon* weder kreegh, in welcke die belofte gheschiet waren, dat *alle gheslachten in hem souden gheseghent werden*, als hy hem nu buyten ghevaer vondt. Soo dat sulcke onghemeene eyghentlickheden gheoorloft zijn, ende ten hooghsten prijsselijck, wanneer een Schilder die betracht'. Angel 1642: 48–49. See for a further analysis of Angel's treatise Sluijter 1988.

Liberties were justifiable as long as they were supported by evidence found in other biblical verses, or authorized studies. In this particular case, Angel relates the depiction of Abraham's emotions to other sources such as the *Antiquities of the Jews* (c. 94) by the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus.[20]

Prints or paintings based on such accurate representations of biblical scenes were held in high esteem, even by Dutch Reformed authors such as Jan de Brune de Jonge, a nephew of the above-mentioned Johan de Brune who wrote the *Emblemata of zinne-werck* in 1624. De Brune jr. acknowledged the fact that the Catholics had made optimal use of this type of imagery in the past. In the preface to his *De schilderkonst der oude* [The Classical Art of Painting] dating from 1641, he first discussed the power of the word before directing his attention to the power of the image.[21] A reference to Quintilian is made to prove the point that the image can penetrate the human mind and soul, even more so perhaps than words:

> The painting, so he [Quintilian] said, is a silent work of art which always keeps the same appearance and which can touch upon our innermost feelings, and is seemingly even more powerful than rhetoric.[22]

The awareness of the power of the biblical image led Catholics to paint scenes of the Last Judgment on the doors of church buildings to confront all churchgoers with the consequences of the choices they made on earth:

> For the same reason people used to decorate the church's doors with a depiction of the Last Judgment: the moment when our souls—putting on their cast-off garments again—will either be crowned with immutable happiness or will die an eternal, undying death. The reason being that

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[20] Similar literary studies were carried out by Rembrandt in preparing the compositions for paintings in biblical subjects, as demonstrated in Perlove and Silver 2009: passim.

[21] This is de Brune's Dutch translation of a Latin treatise titled *De pictura veterum* [The Painting of the Ancients [the title of the translation into English, published in 1638], written in 1637 by Franciscus Junius, another uncle of de Brune. Junius wrote this tract with the purpose of legitimizing the art of painting by comparing and relating it to the highly esteemed art of literature. See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 412. The importance of Junius' tract for Dutch visual culture is demonstrated in several contributions in *The Learned Eye*, van den Doel 2005.

[22] 'de Schilderije, seydt hy, een stilswijgend werck en altijdt den selven schijn houdende, dringht soo diep in de binnenste bewegingen onses ghemoeds, dat sy menighmael de kracht der welsprekenheyd self schijnt boven te gaen.' De Brune 1641: fol. iiir.

> those who hoped to enjoy blessed eternity, seeing how the pious souls were granted joyful immortality, would engage every nerve in their body to make their faith fruitful in good works, in order to inherit that immortality. Unruly persons of ill deeds, on the other hand, disguised enemies and idols of themselves, seeing how the evil spirits were snatching away the doomed and torturing them, often felt their hearts so stirred toward things of God that, no longer bent on their own detriment, they realized they should receive the stamp of godliness.[23]

The same argument is made by Angel, who pointed out that God Himself used the visual arts to achieve such a terrifying effect on his people:

> It was thus that our art ascended, step by step, and was held in greater esteem than other arts by many of the great and wise men of the world. And truth do tell, what art deserves to be placed beside it? It was not just princes and kings who valued it. Even the King of all Kings, the everlasting and immutable God, considered it so worthy when he called upon his people, through Ezekiel, to repent. Wishing to warn them of what lay in store, he charged Ezekiel in his chapter 4 to do so with the aid of our art, the Lord saying to him: 'Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and portray upon it a city, even Jerusalem. And lay siege against it, and build a fort against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it, and set battering rams against it round about,' & c. The purpose was to alarm the children of Israel with such fearsome drawings that they would turn to their God, and seeing such somber paintings might be moved by them to avoid the calamity depicted. Behold how worthy and valuable God considered art, because he wished it to be used to instruct his people, at the same time demonstrating other uses to which it could be put apart from decorating bare walls.[24]

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[23] 'men plaght eertijdts om de selfde reden de deuren der Kercken met den dagh des oordeels te beschilderen: wanneer namelick onse zielen haer oude uytschudsels wederom aentreckende, met een onveranderlicke ghelucksalicheydt sullen worden bekroont, of in een eeuwighe doodt sterveloos sullen sterven. Te weten sy die nu de blijde eeuwigheydt in hope ghenoten, siende hoe de vrome zielen met een volvreughdige onsterffelijckheyt wierden begenadight, spanden al hun zenuwen uyt, om, hun geloof door de werken vet makende, haer naemels met de daet te beerven. On-dadighe vrijlevige menssen daerenteghen, vermomde Vyanden en Afgoden van hun selven, gewaer wordende hoe de boose geesten de verdoemde wech ruckten en pijnighden, wierden dickwils met sulcke God-voelijcke sinroeringen aengeblasen, dat sy hun selven niet meer versuymelick te kort doende, den stempel der godsaligheydt sagen t'onfangen.' De Brune 1641: fol. iiiir–v.

[24] Translation quoted from Angel 1996: 235. 'Dus is onse Konst van trap tot trap op gheklommen, en by veele Groote en Wijse van de Werelt geacht gheweest boven andere Konsten. En om de waerheyt te segghen, wat Const mach by de selve na haer waerde gestelt werden? Ten is niet alleen dat Princen en Coninghen de selve

God granted the prophet Ezekiel the power of painting to teach the Jewish people an important lesson: religious images can therefore do much more than just fill up empty walls.[25]

We can conclude, then, that under the condition of impartiality and neutrality, the Bible illustration became an accepted visual aid for imparting factual knowledge for all denominations from the 1630s onward, as long as these illustrations were not incorporated in full Bible translations.

Applications of Emblematic, Allegorical Imagery

Attitudes were quite different with regard to the use of emblematic, allegorical imagery. The three major confessional groups—the Dutch Reformed, the other Protestants (mainly Anabaptists and Remonstrants) and the Catholics—developed clearly differentiated ways of applying this particular type of imagery between 1630 and 1653. In what follows, a separate section is devoted to each group. The first quarter of the seventeenth century had been to a large extent dominated by the Dutch Reformed rejection of religious emblematic imagery, but a wider range of attitudes emerged in the 1630s: Dutch Reformed authors started to work along even stricter guidelines as the Anabaptists and Remonstrants developed an independent iconography and the Catholics introduced some elements of traditional Catholic imagery into their religious works.

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groot geacht hebben, maer selfs den Coningh aller Coningen, die altijt-duerende en onveranderlijcke selfs blijvende *Godt*, heeft de selve soo waerdich gheacht, dat wanneer hy door *Ezechiel* sijn volck tot bekeringhe riep, en haer wilde vant toekomende ongheluck, dat haer boven 'thooft hingh waerschouwen, sulcx aen *Esechiel* in sijn 4. *cap.* belast door onse Konst te doen, wanneer de *Heere* aldus tot hem seyde: *Ghy Menschen Kint, neemt u een Tichel-steen, ende leght die voor u aengesichte: ende bewerpt daer op de Stadt Jerusalem. Ende maeckt eene Belegheringhe teghen haer, ende bout teghen haer sterckten, ende werpt teghen haer een Wal op: ende stelt Leghers tegen haer, ende sedt teghen haer Storm-ramen rontom, & c.* Op dat door soo danighe schrickelijcke af-teyckeninghe de kinderen Israels bevreest sijnde, haer tot haeren Godt mochten bekeeren, ende siende sulcken droeve afschilderinge, mochten beweecht werden met haer selven, om het afgebeelde onheyl te ontgaen. Siet daer, hoe waerdich en nut de selve van Godt geacht is geweest, dewijle hy door de selve sijn volck heeft willen onderwijsen: en met eenen te kennen gevende waer toe de selve meer gebruyct konde werden, dan om ylle muyren te vercieren.' Angel 1642: 13.

[25] See for a more detailed analysis of this aspect of Angel's treatise Weststeijn 2009: 105 and 171–216.

The Dutch Reformed: The Disappearance of the Image

Between 1630 and 1650, the emblematic image was almost totally banned from Dutch Reformed religious literature. An isolated attempt to stimulate interest in the religious emblem was made by the Dutch Reformed minister Hulsius in the 1630s, but did not result in a wide acceptance of the genre owing to the obstructive response of influential figures in the Dutch Reformed church. Their campaign hampered the further development of the religious emblem and resulted in the production of *emblemata nuda* (emblems without pictures) in the 1640s and 1650s. Allegorical imagery was also excluded from genres such as the prayer book.

Religious Emblems: Bartholomeus Hulsius' Emblemata Sacra

Departing from the example given by Cats in his *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, the Dutch Reformed minister Bartholomeus Hulsius introduced a new type of religious emblem to Dutch Reformed readers in 1631, in his *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden, met niewe ghedichten, schrifftuerlycke spreucken, ende bedenckinghen* [Sacred emblems, that is some religious emblems, with new poems, biblical proverbs and meditations].[26] The idea behind this collection of emblems originated in Germany and England: the English genre of the occasional meditation and certain German emblem books inspired Hulsius to create a new type of emblem, based on secular imagery but infused with religious fervor.

At the time the *Emblemata Sacra* was published, Hulsius was working as a minister in a little village called Cillaarshoek, located between Rotterdam and Dordrecht.[27] This rural place of residence stood in sharp contrast to Hulsius' international background. Born in Frankfurt in 1601 as the son of the engraver Levinus Hulsius, he studied in Leiden between 1621 and 1626. He preached to the Dutch congregation in Austin Friars in London for a time in 1627, but, when not offered a position there, was forced to return to the Republic.[28]

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[26] The newness of Hulsius' approach and the focus on religious interpretations in the *Emblemata Sacra* led to the characterization of this volume as the very first Dutch Reformed religious emblem book in Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 484.

[27] Blok, Molhuysen and Kossmann 1918: volume 4, 1182.

[28] Levinus Hulsius was born in Ghent, and worked as a geographer in Germany. See for more genealogical details on Bartholomaeus Hulsius, McKeown 2000: 55–101; and for more about Levinus Hulsius, Tiele and Muller 1960 and van Groesen 2008: 348.

These English roots were apparent to any reader of the *Emblemata Sacra*, dedicated as it was to the Dutch church in London.[29] The more lettered reader was perhaps also attracted by Hulsius' choice of title, which calls to mind the productive tradition of religious emblematics in neighboring countries of the Republic, particularly a volume titled *Emblemata Sacra* by the Lutheran theologian Daniel Cramer, published in Frankfurt in 1624. The title engraving for Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra* also seems to derive from Cramer's example, to judge from the similar architectural setting and the tetragram representing God's Presence at the top.

Inside the volume, Hulsius' imagery proves to be quite different from Cramer's. The engraved figures in Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* were allegorical representations of the heart undergoing various experiences.[30] Cramer's emblems focus on events in the inner life of the believer which will bring it closer to true devotion; in these images the heart functions as the pictorial sign of the self, and the accompanying texts are quotations from the Old and the New Testament.[31]

In contrast, Hulsius' imagery originated in a secular tradition. He re-used forty of the one hundred copper plates of another German emblem book, Julius W. Zincgref's *Emblematum Ethico-Politicorum Centuria*, first published in Heidelberg in 1619 by Johann Theodor de Bry.[32] The engravings were made by Matthaeus Merian, who worked at the Frankfurt publishing house of de Bry at the time.[33] The kinship between the volumes of Zincgref and Hulsius inspired the (unknown) engraver of Hulsius' new title page to integrate some of Zincgref's *picturae* into the medallions depicted on the two pillars of the architectural

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[29] For which his was awarded five pounds, see Grell 1989: 128–129 and 138.

[30] See Saunders 2000: 210.

[31] As argued in Scholz 2003: 99–136, esp. 118 and 134.

[32] Out of the 100 *picturae* in Zincgref's *Emblematum Ethico-Politicorum Centuria*, Hulsius selected those depicting scenes from daily life and landscapes, combined with some allegorical elements, and arranged them in a completely different order. Hulsius rejected violent scenes which suited Zincgref's political intentions but were of no use to Hulsius (such as Zincgref's *pictura* III (predatory bird), V (fighting lion), XIV (a bull fighting a bear).

[33] See Wütrich 1966. It is unclear how Merian's copperplates ended up being used for Hulsius' emblems. After de Bry died, his books, equipment and copperplates were split between his sons-in-law Merian and Fitzer in 1625. Fitzer and Merian then each started his own firm, and to judge from Merian's catalogue—the one Fitzer published did not survive—Fitzer was the one who inherited the copperplates for de Bry's emblem books. See van Groesen 2008: 98 and 100–103. The plates were used again in Germany in 1664, for a reprint of Zincgref's volume. See Rawles 2002: 317–319, esp. 317.

Fig. 27 Title page from Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata Sacra hoc est, decades quinque emblematum ex Sacra Scriptura, de dulcissimo nomine & cruce Jesu Christi, figures æneis incisorum*. Frankfurt: Lucas Jennis, 1624.

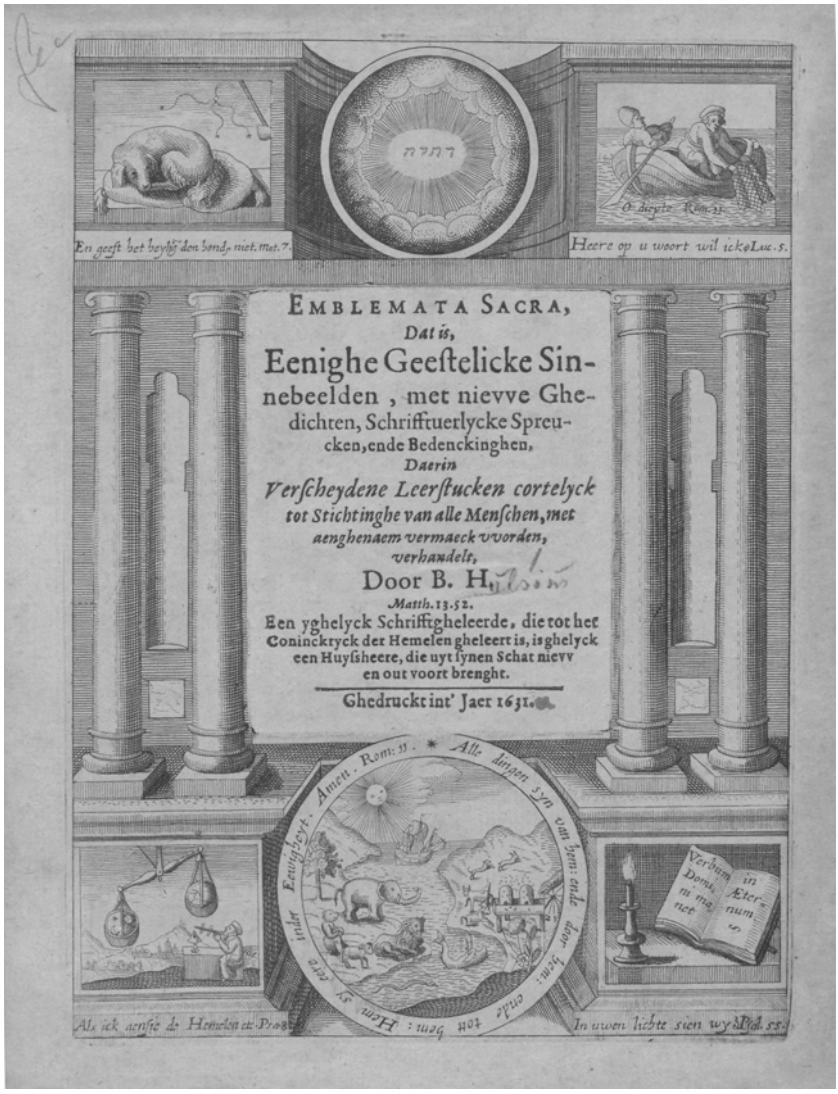
En geeft het heylich den hond. niet. Mat. 7.
Heere op u woort wil ick. Luc. 5.
EMBLEMATA SACRA,
Dat is,
Eenighe Geestelicke Sinnebeelden, met nievve Ghedichten, Schrifftuerlycke Spreucken, ende Bedenckinghen,
Daerin
Verscheydene Leerstucken cortelyck tot Stichtinghe van alle Menschen, met aenghenaem vermaeck vvorden, verhandelt,
Door B. H.
Matth. 13. 52.
Een yghelyck Schrifftgheleerde, die tot het Coninckryck der Hemelen gheleert is, is ghelyck een Huysheere, die uyt synen Schat nievv en out voort brenght.
Ghedruckt int' Jaer 1631.
Verbum Domini manet in Æternum.
In uwen lichte suen wy. Psal. 35.

Fig. 28 Title page from Bartholomeus Hulsius, *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden, met niewe ghedichten, schrifftuerlycke spreucken, ende bedenckinghen*. [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1631.

construction, adding quotes from the Bible. At the lower right, he also added a new pictorial element: an opened book, with the inscription 'Verbum domini manet in æternum' [God's Word abides for ever].[34]

Underneath this image is an inscription from the Psalms: 'In uwen lichte sien wy licht' [In thy light shall we see light]. When Cats' *Sinne-en minnebeelden* is taken as a point of comparison, the shift to the religious becomes obvious even from a first impression of Hulsius' title page (see Fig. 29).

It was a German publisher, most likely Lucas Jennis—also Cramer's publisher in 1624—who took the risk of printing Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra*.[35] The paper and letter font point in the direction of Germany, and more specifically to Jennis, since some of the ornaments were already used in a French collection of religious emblems produced by Jennis in Frankfurt in 1617, titled *Emblemes Nouveaux*.[36] A short passage in the preface to the volume, where the publisher states that a long list of *errata* is added because Hulsius—'due to the distance and his other occupations'—was not able to correct the proofs in time, suggest that the roots of Hulsius *Emblemata Sacra* could be foreign; another remark about the Dutch translations of the Latin verses, which are 'des Druckers oversettinghe' [renderings by the printer] suggests that Bartholomeus's brother Friedrich, who worked for Jennis at the time, was also involved in the production of the *Emblemata Sacra*.[37] It is unknown why Hulsius opted for this rather inconvenient arrangement: did he receive no response or support from Dutch publishers he contacted, or was it just easier for him to work with a German publisher considering his family history?

In any case, it is very unlikely that the *Emblemata Sacra* was printed outside the Republic to attract an international audience. Whoever published the volume even went to the trouble of translating the Latin

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[34] The importance of the Word is again underlined in emblem XXIV, in which God's Word is compared to a double-edged sword (as was the case in Teellinck's *Ecce Homo*): 'Godts Woordt en is niet doodt, t'wordt Levende bevonden;/T'is een tweesnydend Sweerdt, dat door de siele dringht,/Dat t'binnenste geraeckt.' [God's Word is not dead, but alive;/It is a double-edged sword, which penetrates the soul,/Touching the innermost recesses of the heart]. Hulsius 1631: 85.

[35] See Stronks 2011.

[36] Its full title: Jennis' *Emblemes Nouveaux esquels le Cours de ce Monde est depeint et representé par Certaines Figures, desquelles le sens est expliqué par rimes*.

[37] 'overmidts de verte en ongelegentheydt'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *1r–v. Research in Paul Dijstelberge's database with publishers' ornaments and fonts has led to this conclusion. Jennis stopped working in 1631, and probably died that same year.

Fig. 29 Detail title page from Bartholomeus Hulsius, *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden, met niewe ghedichten, schrifftuerlycke spreucken, ende bedenckinghen*. [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1631.

quotes into Dutch, and Hulsius' definition of the emblem fully conformed to Cats' definition of the genre.[38] In the 'Dedication' of the volume Hulsius argued that the 'respect accorded the genre as well as the amusement and usefulness it brings' are sufficiently known to his readers.[39] His definition of the genre is a mere repetition of Cats' earlier phrases. According to Hulsius, an emblem is 'a lively scene, a speaking image as it were, since underneath a simple figure, valuable lessons of many kinds can be presented in a pleasing and unusually beneficial way. Even the Bible often makes use of these figures'.[40]

In all of Hulsius' emblems, the *pictura* is explicitly linked to passages from the Bible. In line with the example set by de Brune and Cats, Hulsius used scenes from daily life to meet the reader's religious needs. But unlike his predecessors, he also included landscapes and motifs from nature. Since Merian was a skilled engraver with a preference for landscapes, this aspect of Hulsius' *picturae* must have caught the eye of his readers.[41] Hulsius' volume, for instance, begins and ends with a *pictura* in which the sun—rising and setting—has a key role. These images should be used, Hulsius explains, to continue one's 'H. Meditatien' [Holy Meditations] throughout the day.[42] Also in contrast to Cats and de Brune, Hulsius intended his images to function as aids to meditation: they no longer served as (arbitrary) starting points for edifying moralizations, but needed to be studied for their specific and idiosyncratic potential.

As Hulsius maintained in his 'Dedication', human beings can 'learn to know God, the Maker of themselves and all other creatures, from the visible things of His creation, (as if from a large book written with many letters)'.[43] In the past, this was not comprehended by the hea-

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[38] As stated by the publisher in the preface to the volume: the Dutch translations of the Latin quotations are 'des Druckers oversettinghe'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *1v.

[39] 'Weyrdigheyt […] mitsgaeders oock t'vermaeck en nuttigheyt'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *2v.

[40] 'een levende Tafereel, en spreeckende Beeld alst' ware, daer onder een slechte [eenvoudige] Figuere, veelderhanden schoone Leerlinghen, aerdichlyck en met sonderlyck profyt connen worden voorghestelt. De Schrifftuere […] gebruycktse menighmael selfs'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *2v.

[41] Merian was a Calvinist but with strong leanings towards the spiritual. See van der Coelen 1998: 163.

[42] 'derghelyke H. Meditatien'. Hulsius 1631: 152.

[43] 'opdat de Mensche uyt de Scheppinghe der sienlycker Creaturen (als uyt een groot Boeck, met soo veele Letteren beschreven) soude leeren kennen Godt synen, ende aller Creaturen Schepper […].'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *3r.

thens who remained 'blind to things of God's Spirit'.[44] For this reason God gave man the Bible, 'as well as the Light of Scripture, the true light, which opens our eyes so that we see the wonders of both the world and of God's Law.'[45] The emblems in his volume, Hulsius argued, were designed to 'convert readers, or to help them make progress on the road to sanctification.'[46] Insights derived from studying the representations of nature in these emblems—both in their visual and textual components—should be used to examine one's heart, as pointed out in emblem XXXIV. In this *pictura*, a hand reaching from the clouds holds a string with a heart attached, lowering it to the earth.

Hulsius uses this image to convince readers of the need to search for shrewdness and falseness in their heart. If they do so, they will undoubtedly come to the conclusion that 'the deceit within the human heart is great and manifold'.[47] Knowledge of one's own soul opens up the possibility of learning more about God, a premise underlying almost all Protestant forms of meditation.[48]

Hulsius aimed not only to develop the personal faith of his readers, but also to influence the Dutch Reformed Church as a whole. In emblem XXIX, for instance, the *pictura* shows two hands being sprayed with water by a third hand reaching from the clouds. In the accompanying poem, Hulsius argues: 'As seen in the hands depicted here:/If one [hand] washes the other, both are cleaned//Help your fellow human being and you will not regret it'.[49]

In the prose text following the poem, this advice is specifically applied to church members: by working together they can purify God's church. In emblem VI, this 'church' is distinguished from the Remonstrant congregations, which are dismissed by Hulsius as deceitful and false. Hulsius urges the other ministers in his church to perform their specific duty to take a strong stand in keeping the church pure. In emblem XXXI, in which the *pictura* shows a volcano, Hulsius

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[44] 'blindt in die dinghen, die des Geestes Godes zijn'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *3r.

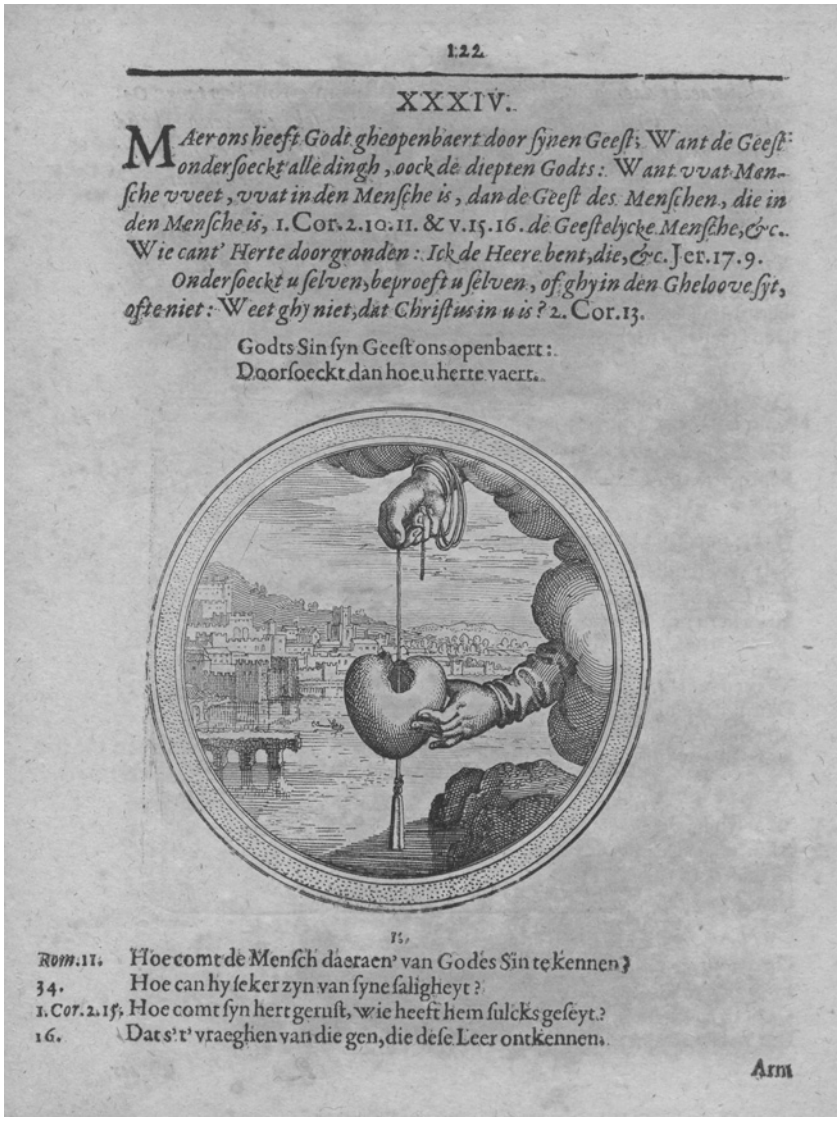
[45] 'ende licht der Schrifttuere, het rechte licht, waerdoor ons de Ooghen worden gheopent, soo dat wy sien de Wonderen beyd van de Werelt, en wet Godes.'. Hulsius 1631: fol. *3v.

[46] 'een siele te winnen ofte om selver in den Wegh der Saeligheyt gevoordert te worden.' Hulsius 1631: fol. *3r–v.

[47] 'T'bedrogh van s'Menschen hert is groot, en menighfout '. Hulsius 1631: 124.

[48] As argued in Lewalski 1979: 149, and also in Dyrness 2004: 83–84.

[49] 'Soo aen dees handen blyckt, die hier geschildert syn//Als s'eene d'andre wascht, dan worden beyde reyn//Helpt mensch u medelidt en willtet niet bedroeven.'. Hulsius 1631: 100.



122.

XXXIV.

MAer ons heeft Godt gheopenbaert door ſynen Geeſt; Want de Geeſt onderſoeckt alle dingh, oock de diepten Godts: Want vvat Menſche vveet, vvat in den Menſche is, dan de Geeſt des Menſchen, die in den Menſche is, 1. Cor. 2. 10. 11. & v. 15. 16. de Geeſtelycke Menſche, &c. Wie cant' Herte doorgronden: Ick de Heere bent, die, &c. Jer. 17. 9. Onderſoeckt u ſelven, beproeft u ſelven, of ghy in den Gheloove ſyt, oft niet: Weet ghy niet, dat Chriſtus in u is? 2. Cor. 13.

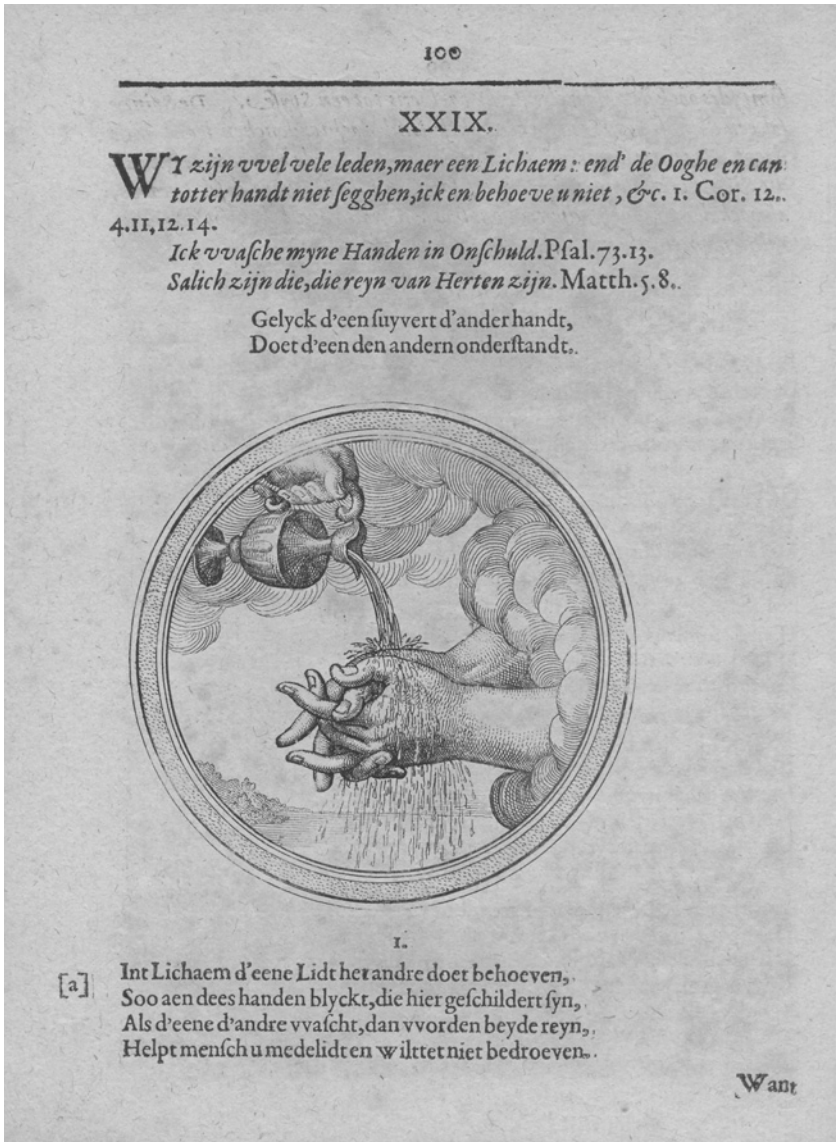
Godts Sin ſyn Geeſt ons openbaert:
Doorſoeckt dan hoe u herte vaert.

Is,

Rom. 11. 34. Hoe comt de Menſch daeraen' van Godes Sin te kennen?
Hoe can hy ſeker zyn van ſyne ſaligheyt?
1. Cor. 2. 15. 16. Hoe comt ſyn hert geruſt, wie heeft hem ſulcks geſeyt?
Dat s' t' vraeghen van die gen, die deſe Leer ontkennen.

Arm

Fig. 30 *Pictura* XXXIV in Bartholomeus Hulsius, *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden, met niewe ghedichten, schrifftuerlycke spreucken, ende bedenckinghen*. [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1631, 122.



100

XXIX.

Wy zijn vvel vele leden, maer een Lichaem: end' de Ooghe en can totter handt niet ſegghen, ick en behoeve u niet, &c. 1. Cor. 12. 4.11,12.14.

Ick vvaſche myne Handen in Onſchuld. Pſal. 73.13.
Salich zijn die, die reyn van Herten zijn. Matth. 5.8.

Gelyck d'een ſuyvert d'ander handt,
Doet d'een den andern onderſtandt.

I.

[a] Int Lichaem d'eene Lidt het andre doet behoeven,
Soo aen dees handen blyckt, die hier geſchildert ſyn,
Als d'eene d'andre vvaſcht, dan vvorden beyde reyn,
Helpt menſch u medelidt en wilttet niet bedroeven.

Want

Fig. 31 *Pictura* XXIX in Bartholomeus Hulsius, *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden, met niewe ghedichten, schrifftuerlycke spreucken, ende bedenckinghen* [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1631, 100.

writes: 'This high mountain of flames and light/Teaches the ministers their duty': all ministers should be alert to act when members of their congregation seem to need help on their road to sanctification.[50]

Hulsius aimed to change the course of the Dutch Reformed church, but was anxious not to stir up animosities. To avoid the impression that he was advocating a use of images similar to the Catholic conventions, he discussed the issue of God's invisibility in emblem XVI. The *pictura* of the sun shedding light on a stretch of water is explained in the texts: we can never see God face to face, just as we can never look directly at the sun, because it would do us harm. We can look at indirect representations of Him, but not the kind of images the Catholics worship:

> When God revealed His Glory to Israel
> And addressed His people, they were terrified,
> This is why God now addresses us through His teachers,
> Because if He did so in person, we would hardly survive it.
>
> God cannot be seen, other than through His Word, and His works,
> These are like shadows, His true being is known to no one
> So why do you paint, or carve in wood,
> Him who is eternal, you Papists in your churches![51]

The readers are more than once warned not to follow the Catholic example, as in emblem XXXVI, where the *pictura* depicts sheep jumping into the water. Here Hulsius' advice is to think again before following a ruinous lead; likewise, Dutch Reformed readers should not be tempted to imitate Catholic folly.

To make sure no one would associate his work with the Catholic use of images, Hulsius explains every nuance of scenes depicted in the *picturae*. He thus minimizes the chance of misinterpretation, presenting his reading of the visual stimuli as almost factual knowledge. The *pictura* of the first emblem shows three laurel wreaths placed on a pillar. A ladder is leaning against the pillar, and in the background we

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[50] 'Deesen hooghen bergh met vlamm' en licht/Die leert de Leeraers haeren plicht'. Hulsius 1631: 109. On the relationship between the *pictura* of this image and the Bible see de Jongh 1976: 194.

[51] 'Doe Godt aen Israel syn Heerlickheyt liet blycken/En t'volck sprack selver aen, het was te seer verveert//Dats d'oorsaeck dat ons Godt door syne Leeraers leert//Want dat hyt selver waer, wy souden haest beswycken./God can niet syn gesien, dan door syn woordt, en wercken//Dat syn als schaeduwen, syn wesen niemant weet/Wat schildert ghy hem dan, oft op een houdt afmeet//Hem, die oneyndigh is, ghy Paepen in u Kerken!'. Hulsius 1631: 45–46.

see a landscape with some ruins. Hulsius first addresses any bafflement readers might feel, looking at this image. They should understand:

> A good lesson should be learned from every thing,
> All creatures ought to be our teachers,
> Through them we climb to higher knowledge of the Lord,
> Everything derives from Him, and must return to Him.
>
> Try this for yourself: you are sitting in your house,
> And you are served some milk, or bread or salt,
> Or something of that sort. Just remember,
> Each thing can help you on your way to greater Knowledge.[52]

The presence of the ladder—'leer' in Dutch means 'ladder' as well as 'doctrine'—is explained in the following stanzas:

> But how happy the person whom God instructs
> Not only through the visible creation,
> But to whom He also reveals the eternal heavenly Crown,
> And the upright ladder [true doctrine] for journeying heavenwards.
>
> This Son of God, who appeared to Jacob
> As a high ladder in a dream long ago:
> He alone is the way, the door, the true doctrine,
> Which stretches from earth all the way to heaven.[53]

Going over all elements of the *picturae*, explaining as well as limiting their interpretation, Hulsius narrows the image down to a univocal carrier of meaning.

In all of this, Hulsius seems strongly influenced by the English genre of the occasional meditation, which had its roots in Protestant translations of Catholic meditational works as well as in the emphasis placed on inward prayer among the English Protestants.[54] Joseph Hall, in *The*

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[52] 'Men dient uyt yder dinck een goede Leer te leeren//De schepsels altemael ons moeten syn een Leer//Waer door wy climmen op tot kennis van den Heer//T'comt altemael van hem, t'moet weder tot hem keeren./Neemt daer een proefken van. Ghy sit in huys, ghenomen//U wort daer opgehedischt, of *Melck*, of *Broot*, of *Sout*//Of dierghelycken iet: van elcks maer wat onthout//Ghy cont door yder dinck tot meerder Kennisse comen.' Hulsius 1631: 1.

[53] 'Maer ô gheluckigh Mensch! Dien God comt onderwysen//Niet door t'ghesicht alleen der Creatueren schoon//Maer doet hem mede condt die eewigh Hemels Croon// End d'opgherechte *Leer* om derwaerts op te rysen./Dats Christus Godes Soon, die Iacob is verschenen//Gelyck een Ladder hooch in synen droom weleer:/Die is alleen den Wegh, de deur, de waere Leer//Die van der aerden reyckt tot in den Hemel henen'. Hulsius 1631: 2. The printing errors as indicated by Hulsius' publisher, are corrected in this transcription.

[54] These translations started to appear at the end of the sixteenth century, see for instance Richard Hopkins' translation of Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer and Meditation*

Art of Fine Meditation, had defined meditation as 'a bending of the mind upon some spiritual object';[55] and his ideas were an important stimulus to the development of English devotional literature in de 1620s.[56] During his stay in London in 1627, Hulsius must have become acquainted with this meditation literature. The German example of Cramer's *Emblemata Sacra* perhaps inspired him to enhance his own occasional meditations with visual means.

In doing so, Hulsius was the first Dutch Reformed poet to give a religious turn to the existing emblematic tradition, in which the textual enjoyed a higher status than the visual. Despite his efforts to adapt his emblematic concept to the Dutch situation, Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra* did not prove successful**.** At the same time that in England the Protestant Francis Quarles' *Emblems* (1635), a reworking of Hugo's *Pia Desideria* that closely followed its Jesuit source, was fast becoming the best-known emblem book in English history, Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra* went virtually unnoticed by readers in the Republic.[57] Hulsius encountered growing opposition in the Dutch Reformed Church to the use of emblematic imagery in a religious context, as I will demonstrate in the following section.

Aspects of Visual Culture: Gisbertus Voetius as Trendsetter

Most significant was the resistance of the Utrecht professor Gisbertus Voetius, mentioned in Chapter 1 for his emancipatory support of Teellinck. As the inspiring instructor of many ministers to be, Voetius grew into one of the prominent intellectuals in the Republic from the 1630s through the 1670s.[58] During these decades, his unqualified rejection of the religious emblematic image proved to be severely restrictive.

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contayning foureteene Meditations, for the Seauen Dayes of the Week (London: Thomas Gosson and Iohn Perin, 1592). On the nature of the English devotion see Kaufman 1993.

[55] Quote taken from chapter II, 'The Description and Kinds of Meditation', in Hall 1863: Vol. VI, 48. See on Hall's ideas Livingstone Huntley 1981.

[56] As argued in Salzman 2002: 168.

[57] See on the popularity of Quarles' emblems Virkar-Yates 2008: 32–47. On Quarles' affiliation see Streete 2009.

[58] Voetius had no intention to address a wide audience himself through his writings, as he did not publish his works in the vernacular. His *Ta asketika sive Exercitia pietatis*, for instance, was not available in a Dutch translation during his lifetime: Voetius meant to educate the laity indirectly, by educating their future ministers.

Voetius' objections to allegorical religious imagery were related to his general distrust of poetry, as openly expressed in his inaugural address held in 1634 in Utrecht, titled *De Pietate cum Scientia Coniungenda* [On the Conjunction of Piety with Learning].[59] On this occasion, Voetius argued that all academic disciplines should be based on religion, and more specifically on the practice of piety. He praised the English Puritan John Hayward, author of *The Sanctuary of a Troubled Soul*, because this lawyer proved himself capable of combining his profession with religion.[60] Less positive were Voetius' remarks on the achievements of the 'filii poetarum' [sons of poets].[61] He recommended circumspection in the use of poetry for pietistic purposes.[62] Poets should realize that the 'suavitas et gratia' [sweetness and grace] of poetry is not capable of giving eternal life, as poets in their vanity sometimes suggested. Christians should read the Bible on a daily basis and devote themselves to prayer and meditation.[63]

Voetius' disapproval of emblematic imagery in particular is apparent from the printing history of his inaugural address. When this was first published in 1634, it included a few lines in which Christ was described as the 'Justitiae Solem' [Sun of Righteousness].[64] When the text was reprinted in 1664, this passage was removed, most likely because Utrecht University had adopted an emblem depicting the sun surrounded by the words 'Sol Justitiae Illustra Nos' [Sun of Righteousness, Enlighten Us] as its logo in the 1630s.[65] In 1642 Voetius

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[59] In contrast, Voetius admired Teellinck's lengthy prose treatises: 'Dit is by na alle uytgegeven predicatien ghemeyn, datse te cort vallen den genen diese met smaeck hooren, ende even wel te lanck zijn te lesen dien, die haer met het merch ende de archetypis of dispositien der selver genoech souden komen behelpen.' [Almost all of these treatises have in common that they seem too short for those who like them, and too lengthy for those who would also be served by only taking in their marrow and their outline or summary], see 'Aen den Godtvruchtighen Leser' by Gisbertus Voetius in Teellinck 1631: fol. ***2r.

[60] Voetius referred to Hayward as 'devotissimi illius libelli author' [author of this very devotional book]. Quoted in Voetius 1978: 41.

[61] Quoted in Voetius 1978: 46.

[62] As Voetius argues, one could wish for poetry which is made subservient to religion, but a warning is in place: 'Ne Apollo, hoc est genius et facultas poetica, Christum vobis de pectore excutiat' [Do not let Apollo—that is to say: your love and innate talent for poetry—drive Christ from your heart]. Quoted in Voetius 1978: 48. On Voetius' address see also Schenkeveld 1991: 48–49.

[63] Voetius 1978: quotation on 48–49, see also 72–73.

[64] Voetius 1978: 72 and 97–98.

[65] Voetius 1978: 72. Right from its start in 1634 the Illustrious School in Utrecht had used the sun emblem with the Latin motto 'Sol Iustitiae Illustra Nos'. The profes-

expressed great aversion to any visual representation of Christ—be it a sun, a dove, a cross, or any other image—in a tripartite treatise titled 'De idolatria indirecta et participata' [On indirect and common forms of idolatry]:

> Apply this [the prohibition on depicting Jesus] to all signs, drawings or symbols representing Christ or the Holy Spirit or the Trinity, be it in a direct manner, or in the manner of an emblem or a hieroglyph such as a lamb, a cross, a sun, a dove, or a triangle with rays and the name of God.[66]

There can be little doubt, then, that opposition to the representation of the Holy Trinity on the title page of the first edition of the States Bible was fueled by Voetius' strongly worded views. To the question of whether any form of religious emblematic imagery could be used, the answer should be a definite 'no', according to Voetius:

> The same question I pose with regard to emblems, hieroglyphs of Christ, Mary etc., such as a sun as the hieroglyph of mercy, meaning Mary. […] Emblems of Christ are strictly speaking not forbidden if they are just symbolical representations of the truth, and the same can be said of emblems of Mary. But when these representations are accompanied by an image, they, properly speaking, turn into hieroglyphs, and one should abstain from them, because of their illusory nature and the dangers of idolatry.[67]

Textual representations of Christ are allowed, but visual representations are, according to Voetius, to be qualified as 'hieroglyphs': heathen artefacts, to be avoided as potential idols.

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sor of classical studies Justus Liraeus quoted the phrase in his inaugural lecture on June 18th, 1634 before Voetius used it in his inaugural address. On Opening Day of Utrecht University, March 26th in 1636, the first Rector Magnificus was presented with this combination of image and text on the official seals and crest of the new university. See van den Broek 1995: 18.

[66] 'Haec applica ad insignia quae praeferunt Christum aut Spiritum S., aut trinitatem, idque vel proprie, vel emblematice seu hieroglyphice per agnum, crucem, solem, columbam, triangulum cum radiis et nomine Dei'. Voetius 1659: III, 289. Translated by Jan Waszink.

[67] 'Idem qæro de emblematis, hieroglyphicis Christi, Mariæ & c., ut quando sol pingitur tanquam hieroglyphicum misericordiæ, & eo denotatur Maria. […] Emblemata quidem Christi, strictè ita dicta, non sunt illicita, ut nec Mariæ, si modo veritatem symbolicè exhibeant. Sed cum accedit pictura, transeunt in hieroglyphica propriè ita dicta; abstinendum est, propter speciem & periculum iconolatriæ'. Voetius 1659: III, 308. Translated by Jan Waszink.

Voetius' attacks were directed at the use of emblematic imagery, a specific element of the Catholic devotional tradition that he in general appreciated for its merits. In his *Exercitia Pietatis* (1664) for instance, an academic handbook for future ministers based on lectures given in the 1630s, Voetius openly admitted that his thoughts on piety were shaped by polemics with Catholic authors.[68] He even appropriated some of the Catholic terminology. At the time, the Dutch word 'devotie' had a Catholic connotation, but Voetius used it nevertheless, explaining that it should be understood as 'piety of the heart'.[69]

As a means to sanctify the believer's soul, however, the visual traditions of the Catholic were rejected by Voetius. Religious imagery is never mentioned in a positive sense in his *Exercitia Pietatis*. He disapproved of emblematic imagery, as well as of using images of the sufferings of Christ in meditative exercises: 'as if God's Word does not have sufficient power to touch the stony heart'.[70] To Voetius, seeing God in the flesh during meditative exercises, a vision that many Catholics claimed to have experienced, was impossible: 'seeing God' to Voetius meant having insights about God, using the intellect rather than the eye.[71] Voetius therefore advised believers to close their eyes while praying: 'the liberty of the external senses, especially of the eye' would disturb the 'cultus internus', the inner awareness of God's love toward us, which inspires thankfulness and obedience to God's law in one's inner life.[72] The kind of devotional practice he recommended was 'bound meditation, also called meditation based on a text'.[73]

Voetius' restrictive views were not limited to the issue of religious imagery. He also opposed the use of the organ in church, and was equally negative about the theatre.[74] The dramatic arts, like religious

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[68] Voetius 1996: volume 1, lxxxvi–lxxxvii.

[69] Voetius 1996: volume 1, p. lxxiv en dl. 2, p. 71. See also van de Berg 1993: 82–83.

[70] Voetius 1996: volume 2, Cap. VI, 256, 'quasi non sufficeret malleus verbi divini ad petras cordium contundendas'.

[71] Voetius 1996: volume 2, Cap. III, 73. 'Licentia externorum sensuum, praecipue oculorum'

[72] Voetius 1996: volume 2, Cap. IV, 148 and volume 1, lxxxvii.

[73] Voetius 1996: vol. 2, Cap. III, 60, 'Astricta seu textualis meditatio'. He acknowledged the importance of vocal expression and aural experiences: singing reinforces the effects of praying, see vol. 1, Cap. III, 63 and 67.

[74] Lectures Voetius gave from 1636 onward reveal a deep ambivalence not only with regard to seeing, but also to hearing. All sensory stimulation could be harnessed for worship but could just as easily slip into abuse. Voetius' lectures were not published under his own name until 1663, in Voetius 1663: volume 1, 544–598). See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 243. In 1641 the organ issue was debated in treatises

imagery, offered only illusory representations of God's creation and intentions, as argued in 'Op de poëtische vonden, en breetspraakelijke uitbreidingen' [On poetical, and lengthy explanations] by Albertus à Vliet, published as a preface to a collection of prayers, *'t Gebedt onzes Heeren* [Our Lord's Prayer] dating from 1658:

> Away, you vain Parnassus, stage and theatre, away!
> Your seeming joy brings only grief and pain,
> Your virtue's mere illusion;
> The best dissembler there boasts of his cleverness:
> Your clowning sours poetry, which should revive the soul.
> It all must imitate things heathen
> And foreign to the Christian faith—
> For Christians most unseemly; your Reason stands there mute.[75]

Because of its illusory nature, all theatre should be banned from the Christian life: the clear echo of Voetius in these lines testifies to the support for Voetius' views found in Dutch Reformed circles in the period 1630–1670 even though another Dutch Reformed professor, Johannes Coccejus, opposed this strict approach. Coccejus propagated the hermeneutic tradition which focused on analogies between the Old and New Testament. As I will show in Chapter 6, Coccejus' ideas were favorable for the development of the Dutch Reformed religious emblem, but they were not influential until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Coccejus' Federal theology was taught at the universities of Leiden and Franeker, and even though its perspectives on culture and the material sphere influenced other areas of Dutch culture—and eventually opinions on the use of imagery in religious literature as well—ideas in line with Voetius' views were initially dominant.[76]

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such as Huygens' *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel inde Kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Leiden: Abraham Elsevier, 1641) and Jan Jansz Calckman's *Antidotum. Tegen-gift vant gebruyck of ongebruyck vant orgel inde Kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Den Haag: Aert Meuris, 1641). Dutch early modern theatre was, despite its secular status, subjected to Dutch Reformed attacks on moral and religious grounds, as argued in Schenkeveld 1991: 14. The theatre in England was similarly targeted, see Tassi 2005: 36.

[75] 'Wyk ydele Parnas, wijk Schouburgh, wijk Toneelen//Uw schijnvreucht baart maar queelen//Uw deucht bestaat in schijn//Die daar best veinzen kan, meent vol van geest te zijn:/Uw zot, vergalt het zap, van 't zielverquikkend rijmen./'t Moet al na 't Heidens zwijmen//En vreemt van 't Christendom/Dat Chris'nen niet en past; hier staat uw Reede stom'. *'t Gebedt* 1658, fol. **4r.

[76] On Coccejus' role and influence see van Asselt 2001: especially 336–339 and van Asselt 2008: 44–49; and Muller 1994. On Coccejus' theological positioning, see Lee 2009.

Voetius' negative statements on the use of allegorical religious imagery were repeated over and over again by authorities in the Dutch Reformed Church in the 1630s and 1640s.[77] In 1644, for instance, Abraham Pietersz Wilsenius translated an anti-Catholic treatise by the French Protestant Charles Drelincourt, titling it *Cort-begryp van de dwalinghen der Roomsche Kercke* [Summary of the Aberrations of the Roman Catholic Church].[78] Wilsenius' main argument is that one should not be afraid to abandon all Catholic rituals: 'A son should not imitate his father's visits to prostitutes, nor his idolatry'.[79] He criticizes the Catholic use of allegorical imagery by quoting Romans 1: 22–23, in which he found a description of fools who thought God's Glory could be captured in an image; one could easily read this, Wilsenius argued, as a biblical description of the Catholics, who believe God can be depicted as an old man, the Holy Spirit as a dove and the Son as a Lamb.[80] To worship these images was wrong, just as the Jesuit Gabriël Vasques was wrong to claim, according to Wilsenius, that one could embrace any element of nature as a means to approach God:

> The Jesuit Vasques is not very concerned [with the selection of useful images], because in the third book of *De Cultu Adorationis* he maintains that one may worship not only consecrated statues, positioned in church, but also statues that have not yet left the workspace of the woodcarver: one could even worship all the trees in a wood, and all the creatures of the world, O heavens! How horrifying!'[81]

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[77] See for an overview of similar treatises Exalto 1991: 121–131.

[78] Drelincourt's *Abregé des controverses ou sommaire des erreurs de l'Eglise Romaine* had been published in 1628, and was again translated into Dutch in 1649, by Cornelis Willemsz. van Berckel (*Kort begryp der verschillen, ofte: Bondigh verhael van de dwalingen der Roomscher kercke, krachtelick wederleyt met hare eygen texten, na de oversettinge van Leuven,…/Charles Drelincourt; overges. door Corn. van Berckel*. Dordrecht: Abraham Andriessz, 1649); this translation was reprinted in 1657. Other works by Drelincourt, such as his *Prières et meditations*, would become even more popular in the Republic, as argued in Heijting 2007: 202 and 208.

[79] 'Een Sone moet niet navolgen der Hoerery van zijn vader, noch min zijne afgoderie', Wilsenius 1644: 25. In 1649, Wilsenius was again involved in an anti-Catholic attack, see Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 369.

[80] 'den Vader af-beelden door een out Man, den H. Geest door eenen Duyve, en de Sone door een Lam'. Wilsenius 1644: 98.

[81] 'De Jesuit Vasques en maecker so veel werck niet van, want in zijn 3. Boeck van d'Aenbiddinghe sustineert hy, datmen de Beelden mach aenbidden, niet alleenlick dan, alsse ghewyet zijn, en geset in de Tempelen, maer oock datmense mach aenbidden in den winckel van een Beeldt-snijder: ja selve datmen alle boomen in een Bosch mach aenbidden, ende alle de creaturen die daer in de Weerelt zijn, ô Hemelen! schricket!'. Wilsenius 1644: 106.

Wilsenius mocked and deplored the ideas of Vasquez, as expressed in *De Cultu Adorationis, Libri Tres*, first published in Alcalá in 1594: 'The more true opinion is, that all inanimate and irrational things may be legitimately worshipped […]. If the doctrine which we have established be rightly understood, not only may a painted image and every holy thing, set forth by public authority, be properly adored with God as the image of Himself, but also any other thing of this world, whether it be inanimate and irrational, or in its nature rational.'[82] Like Voetius, Wilsenius even opposed the use of images from nature for religious purposes. This unconditional rejection of any allegorical religious image hampered the development of Dutch Reformed religious emblems. The compromise found in Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra*, which avoided distinctly religious imagery but nevertheless presented much more religious instruction than was the case in Cats' *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, was thus not acceptable for the Dutch Reformed.

Emblemata Nuda

Hulsius' second emblematic work, published in 1642, was just as meditational in nature as his first but was published as a collection of *emblemata nuda*—emblems without pictures.[83] In this form, the Dutch Reformed religious emblem was able to thrive under the restrictive circumstances outlined above. The new religious emblem books Cats produced in the 1640s and 1650s, which bore the stamp of pietistic Puritanism with their focus on inner experiences of Reformed doctrine and the sanctification of one's personal life, also remained for the most part unillustrated.[84] With these later emblem books, Cats aimed

[82] 'Perspecta bene doctrina à nobis tradita […] non solum imago depicta & res sacra autoritare publica in cultum Dei exposita sed quævis etiam alia res mundi sive inanima & irrationalis, sive rationalis, ex natura rei, & secluso periculo (de quo posteà dicimus) ritè cum Deo sicut imago ipsius, adorari potest.' Vasquez 1888: 261–272, esp. 270.

[83] In 1642, Hulsius selected a secular theme and secular context to convey his meditational message. The emblems in his *Den Onderganck des Roomschen Arents door den Noordschen Leevw* [The Downfall of the Roman Catholic Eagle caused by the Northern Lion] explore the emergence of Sweden as a great European power, responsible for maintaining the political and religious balance in Europe. See for more details McKeown 2000: 55–101.

[84] Only the emblems concerned with human pursuits rather than religious subjects were illustrated in Cats' emblem books of the 1640s and 1650s (*Dootkiste voor de levendige* [A Coffin for the Living] (1647), *Hof-gedachten* [Poems on the Country

to tame the greedy eye with the inner heart, as explained in the dedication to his *Invallende gedachten* [Incidental thoughts on emergent occasions]:

> If our inner heart could turn all that our eyes see
> To good, how much we would learn!
> But if the better part of us does not draw any good from it,
> Our eye is the cause of much evil.[85]

The sense of sight—not helped by any image, but by what one sees by simply looking around—can stimulate pious reflections. Cats thus offered occasional meditations on such everyday phenomena as an ingrown toenail, the act of going to bed, trade with India, or repairs to a roof.[86] The lessons to be drawn from the things Cats described are addressed to the heart of the reader; the eye plays no role. The reason for this change must have been that Cats now considered the image inferior to the word in religious matters. While he was relatively positive about the use of images in religious instruction in his *Sinne- en minnebeelden* in 1618, he apparently changed his mind in later years, possibly under the influence of Voetius.

The same approach is found in other Dutch Reformed religious emblem books of the period such as Cornelis Biens' *Handtboecxken der christelijcke gedichten* [Handbook of Christian poems] first published in 1627 with a section of unillustrated 'zinnebeelden'. From one of his poems it becomes apparent that Biens did not disapprove of the religious image in general:

> Images in general were not forbidden by God,
> So one should not set out to destroy them all.[87]

The Bible itself contains parables which are based on images, so we should not abstain from 'an image which portrays a virtue'.[88] When the *Handtboecxken der christelijcke gedichten* was reprinted in 1635 it was'embellished with some copper plates', as announced on its new

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Estate] (c. 1653) and *Invallende gedachten* [Incidental thoughts on emergent occasions] (c. 1654).

[85] 'Indien ons innig hert ten goede wist te keeren/Al wat het ooge siet, wat soumen konnen leeren!/Maer als ons beste deel niet goets daer uyt en treckt//Dan is' et dat het oogh ons menigh quaet verweckt.' Quoted from Porteman 1992a: 78.

[86] Porteman 1992a: 78–79.

[87] 'De beelden in 't ghemeen zijn niet van Godt verboden//Soo moeten wy dan gantsch de beelden niet uytroden [uitroeien].' Biens 1627: 20.

[88] 'een Beeldt tot deuchts gelijckenis'. Biens 1627: 21.

title page. But the poems written in the style of occasional meditations remained unillustrated. Mental images like the one described in the following example of the *emblemata nuda* were to be evoked by words only:

> The stork, when sore oppressed with inner pain,
> Knows it should seek a fountain:
> So let us go to Christ, when sins have injured us,
> To be set free, and cleansed from all their stain.[89]

The illustrations Biens added to his non-emblematic texts in the volume (songs, prayers), depicted scenes from daily life (a family at the dinner table, a ship at sea), and, in one exceptional case, an element of Catholic iconography.[90]

In this *pictura* the winged human soul stretches out her arms, longing for heaven. The accompanying text expresses this longing in words. Although Biens was not in principle opposed to imagery, his religious emblems remained unillustrated (see Fig. 32).[91]

The step toward illustrating occasional meditations was not taken by Joannes Barbonius either. His first volume of emblems, *LVII Morale sinne-beelden* [LVII Moral Emblems], published in 1641, contained *picturae* but was strictly moralistic in nature. His second collection of emblems the *Moralia, dat zijn, leersame bedenckingen* [Moralia, or Instructive Considerations], dealt with religious subjects and included no images: clearly, the lessons about Christian faith taught in these

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[89] 'Den Oyevaer verstaet wanneer hy is beladen/Met smerten in de Maegh te soecken een Fonteyn:/Laet ons tot Christum gaen, als ons de sonden schaden//Waer door wy werden vry, en van haer smetten reyn.'. Biens 1627: 21.

[90] Grootes 2000: esp. 154 and 155.

[91] In addition, in an unpublished treatise Cornelis Biens wrote: '[het] gheschiet […] natuyrlijck (doch verdorven) dat sich den mensche altijdt wat sichtbaerlijcx voor-stelt, om het onsichtbare uyt te drucken, ende den Sinnen voor te beelden, welcke curieusheyt strijdigh zijnde met de wille onses Godts, is in cas van Godtsdienst, ongeoorloft, specialijcken dat wij niet en moeten bestaen in eenigherley maniere dien oneyntlijcken geestelijcken ende onbegrijpelijkcken Godt, door sienlijcke dinghen uyt te beelden [….]; ons oock in de heylighe Schrifture expresselijck verboden'. [Human being are inclined, naturally but also perversely, to depict something visible in order to express the invisible, and to stimulate the senses—which natural curiosity, being contrary to God's Will, is not permissible in the case of religious subjects, and we particularly should not in any manner depict the eternal, spiritual and incomprehensible God by means of visible things, as is also explicitly forbidden in holy Scripture]. Quoted in de Klerk 1982: 42. Biens' treatise was titled 'Teecken-Const' [Art of Painting]. The manuscript was never printed, and only survived in the form of a twentieth-century copy, as discussed in de Klerk 1982: 16–60, esp. 16.

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Ick begeere ontbonden te zijn ende met Christo te weſen: *Phil.* 1.

HOe is mijn geeſt ſo doff/ waer dwalen mijn gedachten?
Hoe can ic doch ſoo ſwaer het Geeſtelijck betrachten?
Doch ſtellen in practijck het alderbeſte werck!
Helaes! het is het vleeſch dat wederhoudt my ſterck:
Dat werpt my in den wegh en ſtoelen ende bancken/
Aenlockſel tot de ſond' en duyſent ſnoode rancken/
Van liſten en bedroch/ waer door den Geeſt benart/
En innich werdt geſtut/ en wederhouden werdt.
Hoe ben ick dus geſtelt? Helaes ick meen te vliegen!
Waer ſiet terſtonden aen ick moet ter aerden ſiegen:
Het ſchijnt ick ben geboeyt aen handen ende voet/
Beletſel van de Deucht en Vyandt van het goet.
Ick voel een ſwaren laſt my aen de leden hangen/
Dies hoop ick dagh aen dagh met innerlijck verlangen/

Fig. 32 Cornelis P. Biens, *Handtboecxken der christelijcke gedichten, sinne-beelden ende liedekens.* Hoorn: Marten Gerbrantsz., 1635, 201.

series of emblems, did not allow for imagery. The readers were to visualize what Barbonius described through words alone.[92]

Although the idea of using the symbolic meaning of nature in religious instruction became very popular among Dutch Reformed authors in the 1640s and 1650s, images were not added to these occasional meditations, not even when, as in a poem by the Dutch Reformed minister Willem Sluiter, what is seen in nature is characterized as a 'Sinne-beelt' [image with a meaning]:

> There's scarce a thing here, that we see
> That cannot a fair symbol be
> Of something of a nobler kind.
> This pleases and improves man's mind.
> One may from birds, beasts, herbs and trees,
> Even from gnats, from ants and bees
> Draw lessons that are, in all parts.
> Sweet and instructive to our hearts.[93]

Significant is that Sluiter advised his readers to look at nature itself, and not at some representation of nature, since any representation was considered to be a product of the human imagination and thus a diminished version of God's second book of revelation, nature itself.

The restrictions not only determined the development of Dutch Reformed religious emblem toward the *emblemata nuda*, but also influenced the illustrating of other religious genres such as the prayer book, favored by the Dutch Reformed in the 1630s and 1640s.[94] These

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[92] Eddy K. Grootes has suggested that this might have been done to reduce costs, or because images cannot depict some of the actions or scenes described by Barbonius, or because Barbonius sometimes wanted to give more than one image per *subscriptio*. See Grootes 1994: 293–301, esp. 299–300, and Barbonius 1641 and 1646. My suggestion is that when Barbonius turned to writing emblems on matters of religion—his first emblem book was dedicated to the Republic's stadholder and dealt with the virtues of a good ruler—the cultural codes of his fellow believers in the Dutch Reformed Church compelled him to leave out the *picturae*.

[93] 'Al wat by na hier komt voor d'oogen//Kan haest een Sinne-beelt vertogen/ Van d'een of d'ander goede saeck//Te saem tot stichting en vermaek./Men mag uit boomen, kruiden, dieren//Ja selfs uit muggen, mieren, sieren//Veel lessen trekken, die heel soet/En leersaem zijn voor elks gemoet'. Translation quoted in Schenkeveld 1991: 97; original quoted in Schenkeveld 1994: 112. See also Baxton 2003.

[94] For instance, Teellinck's prayer book *Lust-hof der christelicker gebeden*, first published in 1622, was to become his most popular work, as argued in Op 't Hof 2008: 268. And in a competition organized by the chamber of rhetoricians 'De blauwe Acoleye' from Vlissingen, almost all answers to the question of which form of reli-

restrictions are evident from the printing history of a Dutch translation of Hayward's *The Sanctuary of a Troubled Soul*—a work praised by Voetius, as mentioned above.

In English editions, Hayward's texts were illustrated with fold-out prints (schematic representations of the reader's inner life and emotions) and an emblematic title page, made by the engraver William Hole, on which Hayward is shown as the central figure, staring out from beneath a bleeding heart which is supported by Faith, Love, and Hope.[95]

Illustrations of this type were apparently not usable in the Dutch context. When the Dutch translation of Hayward's volume, made by the solicitor Thomas Morris from Vlissingen, was published by Hans vander Hellen in Middelburg, it incorporated a number of illustrations, but not the ones found in English editions.[96] The illustrated concept of the English editions probably served as an example, but vander Hellen included widely accepted biblical scenes instead.[97] An exemplary illustration is found in the chapter devoted to 'd'Overdenkinghe van den Dach des Oordeels' [Meditation on Judgment Day]. In a prayer, the speaker addresses God to confess his sins. Near the end of the prayer, his confession turns into a meditation on Christ's passion. The speaker, now Jesus, addresses the reader:

> '*I brought you forth from the dust of the earth, and created you in my own image*. To save you from your wilful fall, I came down from heaven; I was born in great poverty, I lived with great sorrow, I died with unbearable torments: Witness these wounds; Witness the earth, that trembled; Witness the heavens, which (when I was dying) withdrew their light.'[98]

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gious exercise was to be preferred, mentioned prayer. See for instance the answer of the 'Wit Angieren' from Haarlem in *Vlissings-redens-lusthof*: fol. A4r and fol. **r–v.

[95] The first part of Hayward's collection was published in 1601, the second in 1607. In different shapes and forms, it went through at least fourteen editions up to 1650. See also Womersley 2005: 100. The engraved title page is found in the 1620 edition by George Purslow, London. On the emblematic title page see Corbett and Lightbown 1979.

[96] On Morris' Dutch Reformed background see Op 't Hof 1990: 26–52, esp. 50–51.

[97] New editions were published in 1640, 1641, 1645, 1651, 1656, 1657 (two editions in one year, one containing only the prayer of Christ on the Cross, without illustrations, 1658 (two editions in one year), 1668 and 1678, see Schoneveld 1983: 206–207. It is listed as a Dutch Reformed bestseller in Heijting 2007: 208.

[98] '*Ick bracht u te voorschijn uyt het stof der aerden, ende schiep in u mijn eygen beeltenisse*. Om u weder te recht te brenghen van uwen moetwillighen val, ben ick vanden hemel afghecomen; ick was gheboren in groote armoede, ick leefde met groote smerte, ick storf met onverdragelijcke tormenten: Ghetuyghe dese wonden; Ghetuyghe

Fig. 33 John Hayward, *The Sanctuary of a Troubled Soul.* London: G. Purslow, 1620.

This text is illustrated with an image depicting the horrors and joys of the Last Judgment: Jesus, seated in a cloud and surrounded by angels, condemns some human beings to hell and invites others to heaven:

Vander Hellen thus illustrated this prayer book as if it was a picture Bible, staying well within the lines of Dutch Reformed cultural sensibilities.

Remonstrants and Anabaptists: The Search for an Alternative

At the same time that Dutch Reformed opposition to the allegorical religious image was growing, the Anabaptists and Remonstrants started their own tradition of religious iconography, based on the existing idea that the pilgrimage could serve as a profound allegory of the Christian life. By embracing this concept, they openly displayed the development of a Protestant identity different from that of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Pilgrimage Motif

The innovation in the Anabaptists' use of the religious allegorical image, the introduction of the pilgrimage motif, was brought about by Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, with his collection of prayers and meditations *Lusthof des gemoets* [Pleasure Garden of the Soul], first published in 1635. The volume can be characterized as a retelling of the Old and New Testament history as a series of conversations held during a journey to salvation, between an inquisitive pilgrim and various biblical figures.[99] The first edition of the *Lusthof des gemoets* was illustrated with only a few plates. When the volume was reprinted in 1638, the number of illustrations was raised to one hundred twenty-five; here pilgrims and journeys as well as landscapes played a dominant role, as in the image accompanying the text 'Collatien van de wandelende ziele met Adam' [Edifying conversation of the wandering soul with

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de aerde, welcke beefde; Ghetuyghe de hemelen, welcke (doe ick besigh was met sterven) haer licht introcken.' Hayward 1633: 71–72.

[99] As recently argued by Boudewijn Bakker, the seventeenth-century Dutch audience was used to viewing these landscapes as allegories, portraits of God's Presence on earth Bakker 2004; and Falkenburg 1990: 129–153. Although this argument has raised some controversy (were all landscapes indeed looked upon as allegories?), the figure of the pilgrim as symbol of the soul in Schabaelje's images seems to exclude any doubt with regard to this particular case.

der benaude Ziele. 61 't oordeel
V. Bedeelinghe.
d'Overdenckinghe van den dach
des Oordeels.
1. DE dachvaerdinghe van den generalen dach des oordeels.
2. De vervloeckte ontmoetinghe van des
E 5 son-

Fig. 34 John Hayward, *Het heylighdom der benaude ziele. 't Eerste deel tracterende van de doodt, het oordeel, de pijnen der hellen, ende de vreugden des hemels. Het tweede deel, de passien onses Heeren Iesu Christi. Midtsgaders vele heylige gebeden ende meditatien daer toe dienende*. Ende nu vertaelt door Thomas Morris, notarius. Middelburg, Hans vander Hellen, voor Anthony de Latre, 1633, 61.

Adam]. Depicted are the objects and people Adam encounters on his way to his distant goal.

The text begins with a line which impresses the role of pilgrim upon the reader: 'I would like to be taught, O praiseworthy Father, how to complete my pilgrimage successfully', followed by a prayer for divine help.[100] The old man on the left gives the pilgrim some advice; he is seated underneath a vine branch full of grapes, which seems to symbolize the value of his words. The pilgrim motif had been popular outside the realm of Dutch religious literature long before Schabaelje introduced it in the iconography of his *Lusthof des gemoets*. His idea to integrate it into Dutch Anabaptist traditions can be perceived as an attempt to add the allegorical, emblematic dimension to the Anabaptists' devotional literature but without any unwanted mingling with the Catholic emblematic tradition.

The *Lusthof des gemoets* would grow into an enormous success, both with the plain woodcuts of the first editions and with the more sophisticated copper engravings, used in editions like that of 1706.[101] Inspired by a widely felt appreciation for the pilgrimage theme, Schabaelje's images also enhanced that appreciation. They were, for instance, reused by Baltus Boekholt in his 1675 and 1681 editions of *'t Recht Vernieuwde Paradijs-hofken* [The Genuinely New Paradise Garden], the Dutch translation of a devotional work by the German Lutheran Pietist Johann Arndt, and again for the first Dutch editions of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, titled *Eens Christens reyse* [A Christian's Journey] produced by Johannes Boekholt in 1682 and 1683.[102] Similar engravings based on their example were found in numerous other volumes made by Anabaptists at the time, such as Anthony Janssens van der Goes' *Zederymen, bestaande in zangen en gedichten* [Moral Verses, consisting of Songs and Poems] dating from 1656.[103] In this volume, an engraving shows believers from various age groups and social classes, both men and women, on their way to the heavenly Jerusalem, not distracted by *vrouw wereld* (Lady World):

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[100] 'Ick soude wel willen (ô eerwaerdige Vader) onderwesen zijn, hoe dat ick den loop mijnder Pelgrimagien geluckigh soude voleynden…'. Schabaelje 1662: 63.

[101] Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, *De vermeerderde lusthof des gemoeds*. Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz., 1706. Not all editions carried the entire hundred and twenty-five illustrations of the 1638 editions, but all of them contained at least a few. See for some details of the printing history of *Lusthof des gemoeds*, Visser 1994: 103.

[102] Visser 1988: volume 1, 273.

[103] The motif also appeared in illustrations of some seventeenth-century songbooks, see Rempel 2007: 389–424, esp. 410.

Anno mundi 1. 63

Collatie,

Tuſſchen de Wandelende Ziele ende Adam, begrijpende eenen tijdt van negen hondert en dertigh Jaren.

Wandelende Ziele.

Ick ſoude wel willen (ô eerwaerdige Vader) onderweſen zijn/hoe dat ick den loop mijnder Pelgrimagien geluckigh ſoude volepnden/ende daerom was ick gedzongen u voo? het eerſt aen te ſpzeken/ want ick verſta dat gy veel

Fig. 35 Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, *Lusthof des gemoets: inhoudende verscheyden geestelycke offeninghen* [sic], *met noch twee collatien der wandelende ziele met Adam en Noah ende Symeon Cleophas*. Amsterdam: widow of Theunis Jacobsz., 1662, 63.

Fig. 36 Anthony Janssens van der Goes, *Zederymen, bestaande in zangen en gedichten* Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz., 1656, engraving facing fol. *8v.

The *Zederymen, bestaande in zangen en gedichten* was obviously meant to protect them from worldly distractions.

The pilgrimage metaphor thus proved to be a fertile source of religious images which were allegorical in nature. The publisher Jacob Colom must have foreseen profit from the appeal and acceptability of this imagery in 1647 when he singled out Camphuysen's *Stichtelycke rymen* for illustrations based on the pilgrimage motif. This was a surprising move because Camphuysen—even though once a painter himself—had rejected painting as the 'enchantress of the eye that stares itself blind on mortal things' in 'Tegen 't Geestigdom der Schilderkunst' [The Seductive Power of the Art of Painting], a rhymed translation of Johannes Geesteranus' *Idolelenchus*, a Latin pamphlet which advocated the prohibition of the use of all religious imagery.[104] Camphuysen's translation and versification of Geesteranus' text had not been included in the first editions of his *Stichtelycke rymen* in 1624, but it was frequently reprinted, also by Colom himself, from 1638 onward.[105] In this treatise, Camphuysen argued that visual perception is deceitful:

> That which feeds and leads the eyes gives sweet pleasure to the senses.
> The vain image controls the weak spirit.[106]

The eye cannot be trusted; readers should instead rely on the capacities of their mind and heart, stimulating them by reading God's Word aloud—the Word being a 'sword to the human spirit'.[107]

According to Colom, Camphuysen himself had revoked some of his reservations with regard to all imagery before he died in 1627, suggesting that the decision to include images in the 1647 edition of the *Stichtelycke rymen* would have been approved (or even supported) by Camphuysen himself. Not Camphuysen's true intentions, but other considerations seem to have settled the matter:

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[104] 'Tegen 't Geestigdom der Schilderkunst', in Camphuysen 1647: 224: 'verleydt-Ster van 't gezicht dat sich verstaart op 't sterffelijck'. About Camphuysen's view on the visual arts, see Sluijter 1988: 3–28, and Adams 2009.

[105] Colom not only included the treatise in the 1647 edition of the *Stichtelycke rymen*, but also in *D. R. Camphuysens Verscheyden theologische wercken*, a volume he produced in 1638.

[106] Camphuysen 1647: 223, ''t Geen d'oogen weyt en leyt, bevalt den sinnen soet./ En d'ydle beeltenis beheerst het swack gemoet'.

[107] 'Christelyk gevecht' [Fight of a Christian], Camphuysen 1647: 80, ''*t Zwaerdt des Geest, Godts Woord*'.

> This was my reason for including the prints: I noticed that more and more nowadays the world is embracing them and is beginning to show a great liking for them, so I imagined that with illustrations the work of this excellent man could reach more people, be more often taken in hand and read, and thus foster edification.[108]

Colom thus hoped to sell more of his stock by adapting to the changing times and illustrating Camphuysen's volume. Finding appropriate pictorial material had been a hard task: 'It is simply impossible to represent the aim or thrust of these songs with visual means; I therefore had to base the images on some stories with similar themes'.[109] That the pilgrimage motif was often central to these stories is evident from the fourth song of the volume, about the need to resist all worldly temptations. The title of the song, 'Noodiging tot Deugde' [Invitation to Virtue], served as a motto to the illustration in the 1647 edition. Depicted is a poor man who is drawing the attention of another—rich—man to a church building in the background. The accompanying text urges the reader not to be lured by 'the seeming sweetness, the insidious beauty and the treacherous goods' of the world.[110]

Two pilgrims on the threshold of the church building in the background represent the journey away from the world as an alternative.

The Catholics: The First Products

In the 1630s, the allegorical religious image disappeared from Dutch Reformed productions, while in the same decade the Anabaptists

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[108] 'Tot 't invoegen van de printgens, hebben mij beweeght dese reden: Ick merckte, dat de Werelt hedensdaegs, meer en meer de selfde om helst, en daer toe sich seer genegen begint te thoonen, soo hebbe my ingebeelt, dat door beeltgens, dese voortreffelijcke mans wercken, des te meer onder de man soude komen, in handen genomen, gelesen worden, en profijt tot stichtinge doen mochten'. Camphuysen 1647: fol. ***2r–v.

[109] ''t Wit ofte oogmerck van alle dese Lietgens eygentlijck uyt te beelden, is 't eenemael onmogelijck, der halven hebbe moeten met eenige Historien, van diergelijcke stoffen yets daer by ontwerpen.'. Camphuysen 1647: fol. ***2v. The connection between the songs and the images was often very loose, forcing Colom to add some explanatory verses: 'Ick hebbe eenige veerskens onder de Plaetgens gerijmt, om de selve eenigsins te verlichten [toe te lichten].' [I have added some verses under the pictures with the purpose of explaining them]. Camphuysen 1647: fol. ***2v.

[110] ''tvermomde soet//'t Verradigh schoon 't bedrieghlijck goet'. Camphuysen 1647: 10.

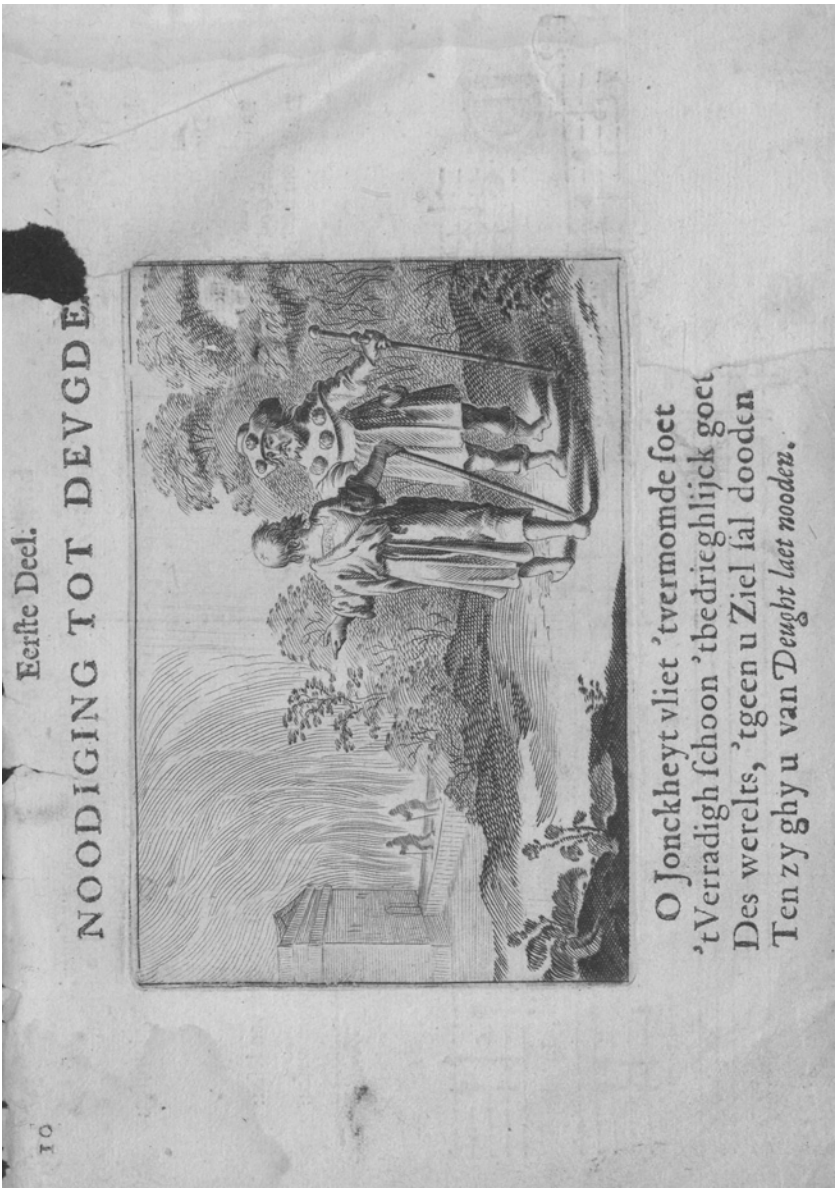
10
Eerſte Deel.
NOODIGING TOT DEVGDE
O Jonckheyt vliet 'tvermomde ſoet
't Verradigh ſchoon 'tbedrieghlijck goet
Des werelts, 'tgeen u Ziel ſal dooden
Ten zy ghy u van Deught laet nooden.

Fig. 37 Dirck Rafaelsz. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke Rymen*. Amsterdam: Jacob Colom, 1647, 10.

found an alternative way of introducing it in their publications. For the Catholics, the 1630s also brought a change: the first illustrated religious volumes based on the iconography in Hugo's *Pia Desideria* were printed in the Republic, soon to be followed by various religious works of Joost van den Vondel which clearly articulated the Catholic identity, although not through the use of allegorical religious images.

Traces of the Pia Desideria

As mentioned before in Chapter 3, the Amsterdam Catholic printer and publisher Paets was rather secretive about his own 1628 version of Hugo's emblem book, *Pia Desideria*, which included the new woodcuts of Boetius à Bolswert's engravings he had commissioned from the famous Christopher van Sichem. The title page of Paets' 1628 edition stated that the book was printed in Antwerp by Hendrick Aertssens, while it was in fact produced in Amsterdam by Paets himself.

In 1631, Paets issued a new edition of three tracts written by (Pseudo)-Augustine, titled *Vierighe meditatien* [Fervent Meditations], adding a selection of the woodcuts van Sichem had made for the 1628 edition of the *Pia Desideria*.[111] His purpose was perhaps to maximize the financial return of these woodcuts, but also to introduce the Catholic imagery in the Republic.[112] To do this in an acceptable manner, Paets chose three (Pseudo)-Augustine tracts on the spiritual dimension of faith which had been printed before in the Republic in the 1620s, but in unillustrated, Latin editions made by the Amsterdam publishers Johannes Janssonius and Willem Jansz. Blaeu.[113] To reach out to a wider audience, Paets published these tracts in Dutch, using a sixteenth-century translation. To illustrate the title page of the *Vierighe Meditatien*, Paets commissioned a woodcut based on the title engraving of Janssonius' edition of the (Pseudo)-Augustine tracts. The engraving visualizes the relationship between Augustine and God by means of clouds connecting the two:

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[111] This time, Paets was less secretive: his name was printed on the title page, but 'Amsterdam' was still missing, see Augustinus 1631.

[112] As argued in Dietz 2011.

[113] Janssonius' edition was published in 1628, Blaeu's in 1629. The Blaeu edition became very popular, with reprints in 1631, 1637, 1639, 1649 and 1702. See for more details of the volume's printing history Dietz 2011.

Fig. 38 Title page of Aurelius Augustinus, *Meditationes, soliloquia et manuale*. Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1628.

This composition had been slightly altered in Blaeu's edition of the three (Pseudo)-Augustine tracts, probably because Janssonius and Blaeu were rivals at the time. Blaeu added the figure of Cupid, thus creating a mix of classical and Christian iconography that was highly unusual in the Republic.[114]

It is unclear whether Paets chose Janssonius' over Blaeu's title engraving for financial or ideological reasons. In any case, Paets' production can be classified as low-risk, since no major investment was needed, and the title page showed an image which had already been presented to the Dutch audience on an earlier occasion. Also, Paets' use of the *Pia Desideria* woodcuts was somewhat concealed: Hugo's *picturae* were only visible when the *Vierighe meditatien* was opened. No mention of them was found on the title page. The emblematic characteristics of the images were toned down because they were not accompanied by Hugo's dense and obscure verse, but by much more straightforward prose texts.

With the publication of the *Vierighe meditatien*, Paets tested the limits of freedom of expression. Apparently a Catholic volume of this kind—albeit not a-religious emblem book like the *Pia Desideria*—could openly be printed in the Republic in 1631.[115] The next step in this development was made in 1640 by another Catholic publisher from Amsterdam, Cornelis Dircksz Cool, who produced Jan Harmensz. Krul's *Christelycke offerande* [Christian Sacrifice], a religious emblem book (partly) based on the iconography of the *Pia Desideria*. In the 1630's, Krul had become popular with a number of song and emblem books which were basically moralistic in nature, although they did contain signs of Krul's religious motivation as in the preface to the *Minnespiegel der deughden* [Mirror for Lovers of Virtue] dating from 1639.[116] A more religious and Catholic approach was taken in the *Christelycke offerande*, as is immediately apparent from the use of 'offerande' [sacrifice] in its title, a word that up to that point had only been used in Catholic religious works published in the Southern Netherlands.[117]

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[114] Also found in Vondel's *Gulden winckel* (1613), as discussed in the previous chapter, but without any other precedents, see Spies 1996: 225–236.

[115] Between 1631 and 1644, Paets produced no new works, for reasons I have not been able to trace.

[116] See on Krul's popularity Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 372 and 395.

[117] Such as Guillelmus Oonselius, *Catholijcke offerande der ghebeden*. [s.l.]: [s.n] probably before 1630; and Jacobus Stratius, *Ghedurige ende eenighe offerande des Nieuwen Testaments*. Antwerp: Guilliam Lesteens, 1619.

Fig. 39 Title page of Aurelius Augustinus, *Meditationes, soliloquia et manuale*. Amsterdam: Willem J. Blaeu, 1631.

In the preface to the *Christelycke offerande*, Krul addresses the 'Christelyken leser' [Christian reader] in an irenic tone, as he articulates the wish that his readers will be moved to sacrifice a 'fervent love of their heart in inner prayers' to Jesus.[118] The images and their intended effect are nowhere mentioned in this preface; Krul only lists 'Hymns, Christian Prayers and Rhymes', which were 'drawn from God's Word', as means to stir up the passionate love for God.[119] Although not explicitly marked, part of Krul's texts, as well as the ideas of some of his *picturae*, were borrowed from the *Pia Desideria*. These elements were integrated with some typical Dutch features.

An elegantly dressed young woman kneels in front of an equally well-dressed young man, who is offering her a deck of cards. Behind them kneels another woman, soberly dressed and supported by *amor divinus*; she is turning her head to look at the other two figures, and is thus distracted from the altar placed in front of her. On the altar is an image of Jesus on the cross and another of a kneeling woman (Mary?). In the accompanying text, the speaker is identified with the soberly dressed, distracted woman. Since human eyes are so easily distracted by all that is going on in the world, they need God's help: 'Let my eyes be turned towards Heaven//Closed to earthly things, in order to overcome these desires'.[120] This first emblem in the volume turns out to be programmatic: the false façade of the world, and the wish to devote oneself to God form Krul's themes. Elements from the images are frequently used to convey all the aspects of this message. In the poem 'Geestelyke minne' [Spiritual love] which follows the first emblem, the presence of the lily in the hand of the woman in the image is explained with a reference to Song of Songs 2:2, 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters'. By emphasizing the theme of worldly temptations, Krul singled out one of the lesser topics addressed in Hugo's *Pia Desideria*. The central focus on the love between the soul and God in Hugo's emblems is diminished in the *Christelycke offerande*, perhaps in an attempt to adjust the *Pia Desideria* to Dutch readers.

Krul was able to publish his *Christelycke offerande* freely, but it did not appeal to a large, interconfessional audience as he had hoped, even

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[118] 'een vuyrige liefde des herten in inniger gebeden'. Krul 1640: fol. A4v.

[119] 'Liedtjes, als Christelijke Gebeden ende Rijmen'; 'ghetrocken zijnde uyt Godts Woordt'. Krul 1640: fol. M6v and A3r.

[120] 'Maer laet mijn ooghe zijn ten Hemel op gheslaghen//Ghesloten voor het aerds om lusten wegh te jaghen'. Krul 1640: fol. A8r.

Fig. 40 Jan Krul, *Christelycke offerande, bestaende in gheestelijcke rijmen ende zangen. Eenighen getrocken uyt de H. Schriftuur, anderen uyt de H. Outvaders*. Amsterdam: Cornelis Dircksz. Cool, 1640, fol A6r.

though he was by then working with another Amsterdam publisher, Jan Jacobsz Schipper, in search of the success Jacob Cats had achieved with Schipper.[121]

Aspects of Visual Culture: Cesare Ripa's Iconologia

Even though no large interconfessional audience was found for religious emblematics in the *Pia Desideria* style in the 1640s, the general attitude toward Catholic religious imagery was not so hostile that its presence was completely ignored or eliminated. Even the Dutch Reformed allowed for some leeway, as is evident from the Dutch translation of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* published in 1644. The *Iconologia*, a manual of personifications, was first published in 1593 by the Catholic Ripa. It was translated by the Dutch Reformed Dirck Pietersz Pers, who, as has been established previously, preserved the Catholic nature of the *Iconologia*.[122] Entries on aspects of the Catholic faith—such as 'Confessione'—were faithful renderings of the original texts.[123] Catholic ritual objects, such as the censer, were depicted without any additional comment, as seen in 'Oratione' [Prayer]: 'The smoking censer is the symbol of prayer, since *David* says, in Psalm 140 [Psalm 141 in the Protestant tradition]: "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense".'[124]

In the original text by Ripa, the visual and the human eye were held in high esteem, and this aspect of the *Iconologia* was also preserved by Pers, who in his own *Bellerophon of lust tot wysheyt* (1614) had been far more negative about the visual capacities of humankind. In Pers' translation of the *Iconologia* 'Viso' [Sight] is praised, because it 'is capable of reaching the hidden secrets of nature, which are buried

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[121] Krul's collected poems were published in 1644 by Schipper under the title *Pampiere wereld ofte wereldsche oeffeninge* [Paper world or worldly exercises]; the volume was reprinted only once, in 1681, by the widow of Jan Jacobsz Schipper. Schipper had been working with Cats since 1642, and would become extremely successful with Cats' *Alle de wercken*, first printed in 1655, as argued in Luijten 1996: IX, 1–3. Volume 2, 16.

[122] At the time the *Iconologia* was published in Rome by Heredi di Gio Gigliotti, Ripa was working for the Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati, who seems to have stimulated Ripa in his work on the *Iconologia*, as pointed out in Stefani 1990: 307–312, esp. 308. Pers used a copy of editions made by Giovanni Zaratino Castellini, published in Padua in 1624 en 1630, as argued in van Vaeck 1995: 67–75, esp. 67.

[123] Schenkeveld 1995: 76–81, esp. 79.

[124] Pers 1644: 133, and Ripa 1630: 536.

in the essence of things themselves, much better than the other senses; secrets which are thus brought to light by these instruments of the intellect.'[125] The eye and light are frequently associated with qualifications such as 'verstandig' [prudence]. In the entry 'Fede Catholica' [Catholic Faith] for instance, a woman is depicted holding a heart with a candle implanted in it: 'The heart with the burning candle represents the inner enlightenment, brought about by faith, which disperses the darkness of unbelief and ignorance' (see Fig. 41).[126]

Since God's Word is full of obscurities, the visual is extremely important, for such obscurities can be captured and explained in images, which are accessible to the human eye, as maintained in 'Sapienza Divina' [Divine Wisdom]:

> So great is the obscurity of Scripture in many places that even *St. Augustine*, who had mastered many things without any teacher's aid, also the ten philosophers' categories, admitted that he did not understand the first part of the book of the prophet *Isaiah* […] But we have depicted the obscurity and difficulty of divine Wisdom as a book with seven seals, as described in the *Apocalypse*, meaning that within the hidden Wisdom of God there are as many dark as valuable, truthful and praiseworthy things: these seven seals can be easily opened by those who close the windows of their heart to the seven deadly sins by seeking to acquire the seven virtues, with which they are incompatible, as well as wisdom and knowledge, which are gifts of the Holy Spirit, by leading a pious and God-fearing life.[127]

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[125] 'veel snelder als d'andere sinnen, een baene maeckt totte verborgen geheymnissen van de Natuyre, die in 't wesen, van de dingen selve, zijn begraven, die daer nae door dese middelen van 't verstand worden in 't licht gebracht'. Pers 1644: 465.

[126] 'Het hert mette ontsteecken kaersse in de hand, bediet de verlichtingh des gemoeds, heerkomende uyt het Gelove, verdrijvende de duysternisse der ongelovigheyt en onwetenheyt.' Pers 1644: 147.

[127] 'Soo groot is de duysterheyt der Schriftuyre in eenige plaetsen, dat *S. Augustinus*, die welcke oock, sonder Meester, veele konsten hadde geleert, en oock 't geene de Philosophen handelen over de tien Categorien, selve bekent, dat hy niet heeft konnen verstaen het begin van den Prophete *Isaias*. […] Maer wy hebben de duysterheyt en swaerigheyt van de Godlijcke Wijsheyt, afgebeelt met het boeck van de seven segelen, waer van de *Apocalypsis* gewagh maeckt, willende seggen, dat in de verborgene Godlijcke Wijsheyt, soodanige duystere dingen zijn, alsser zijn die kostelijck, en van vaster waerheyt en aensien zijn: welcke seven segelen lichtlijck voor die geene open staen, die de vensteren van haer gemoed, voor de seven dood-sonden sluyten, en dat door de seven deughden, die haer tegenstrijdigh zijn, en die de Wijsheyt en kennisse, die daer gaven van den H. Geest zijn, soecken te verkrijgen door Godvruchtig heyt en vreese Godes'. Pers 1644: 618.

FEDE CATHOLICA. *Catholijck of algemeen Geloof.*

EEn Vrouwe in 't wit gekleet, met een Helm op 't hoofd, en in haer rechter hand houtſe een ontſteecken kaerſſe, in een Menſchen herte, en in de ſlincker hand een Tafel van de Oude Wet, met een open Boeck.

Het Gelove, weſende eene van de Theologiſche Deughden, draeght een Helm op 't hoofd, om te betoonen, dat om het waere Gelove te handhouden, het verſtand moet bewaert zijn, voor de ſlagen van der Vyanden wapenen: 't welck zijn de natuerlijcke reedenen van de Philoſophen, en de Sophiſteryen der quaeder Chriſtenen: ſich vaſt houdende aen den ſin van de Euangeliſche leeringe en Godlijcke geboden. *Gregorius* ſegt, *het Gelove heeft geen belooninge, waer de Menſchlijcke reeden, handgrijplijcke proeve betoont.*

Het Boeck met de taefelen *Moyſis* zijn het Oude en Nieuwe Teſtament te ſamen, waer in het voornaemſte inhout deſſelven, als de geboden *Chriſti*, en des Wets zijn begrepen, vermits hy niet gekomen is de Wet te ontbinden, maer om dieſelve te vervullen.

Het hert mette ontſteecken kaerſſe in de hand, bediet de verlichtingh des gemoeds, heerkomende uyt het Gelove, verdrijvende de duyſterniſſe der ongelovigheyt en onwetenheyt. Dies *Auguſtinus* ſeght: *Blindheyt is ongelovigheyt, en Verlichtinge is 't Gelove.* Waeromme oock by de oude H. Godsdienſten het licht ontſteken wort.

FEDE. *Geloof.*

't GElove, wort oock door een Vrouwe afgebeelt, die ſittende en ſeer aendachtigh ſiende, een Kelck in de rechter hand hout, ruſtende met haer ſlincker op een Boeck, dat op eenen vaſten hoeckſteen ſtaet, te weten *Chriſto*, hebbende de Werreld onder haere voeten.

Zy is in Hemels blaeu gekleet met een carmoſyne opperkleet. Onder den hoeckſteen leyt een Slange verplettert, en de Dood met ſijne pijlen verbroocken. Hier by leyt een Appel, waer door de Sonde is veroorſaeckt.

Zy is met Lauwerblaeden gekroont, tot een teycken, dat wy door 't Gelove overwinnen. Achter haer hanght een Doorne Kroon aen een ſpijcker. 't Welck alles door ſich ſelven klaer is, als hebbende weynigh verklaeringe van noode. In't verſchiet wort *Abraham* mede geſtelt, alwaer hy ſijnen Soone wilde offeren.

FEDE CHRISTIANA CATHOLICA. nae de beſchrijvinge van *Fulgentius*, en andere.

DE oude Chriſtenen hebben het Chriſten Geloof by een Maeghdeken van duyſter opſicht uytgebeeldt, en met een Sluyer rontom de borſt bedeckt, de ſchouderen bloot, met een Lauwerkroone op 't hoofd, hebbende een Scepter in de hand, en voor haere voeten ſullen twee Voſſen ſtaen. Zy ſal in haer gebeerden en handelingen een groote ſtantvaſtigheyt en grootmoedigheyt vertoonen.

Deſe beeldeniſſe is van een Doctor van Paris *Holcot* genaemt, aldus afgemaelt.

Zy is van een duyſter opſicht geſtelt, om dat de Articulen van 't gelooof, waer in wy geloven gantſch geene uytblinckentheydt hebben, want gelijck *Paulus* ſeyt 1 Cor. 13. 12,

Fig. 41 'Fede Catholica', Dirck Pietersz. Pers, *Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, of ytbeeldingen des verstands*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje and Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644, 147.

As evident from the explanation of the seven seals, images can be used to depict obscure truths, but this does not necessarily mean that they are univocal in meaning themselves. Images can have multiple layers, and their complexity serves to visualize, and not to marginalize God's complex Word. In addition to the images, 'the sweetness of God's Spirit' can also help believers understand the Bible.[128]

The explanatory images could be drawn from the Bible, as in the case of the book with seven seals, but also from the human imagination, as seen in 'Compunctione' [Compunction of the Heart] (see Fig. 42).

A woman dressed in a gown made of thorns holds a heart in her hand to represent the painful awareness of sin.[129] This imagery borders on the emblematic—a point Pers himself made by adding to his translation references to Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*.[130]

The fact that Pers' translation of the *Iconologia* could be published without any restrictions, testifies to the liberal climate of the Republic. This did not imply, however, that Ripa's ideas on the visualization of religious issues were immediately integrated in Dutch illustrated religious literature, or in the Dutch Reformed religious identity.[131] When Pers himself produced a sequel to his *Bellerophon of lust tot wysheyt* in 1648 titled *Gesangh der zeeden* [Songs of Good Morals], the religious songs in this volume were not illustrated with any of the imagery Ripa had suggested, nor were Pers' textual metaphors derived from Ripa's examples.[132]

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[128] 'de soetigheyt van den Geest Godes'. Pers 1644: 619.

[129] Pers 1644: 422.

[130] As argued in Van Vaeck 1995: 69 and 74.

[131] Ripa's *Iconologia* left a profound imprint on Dutch visual arts in general. Not only through Pers' translation (reprinted in 1699), but also through other adaptations such as *De Proverbia, ofte Spreucken, / des alderwysten koninghs Salomons […] Verciert met vele beeltenissen en geestige leeringhen, dienende tot uytlegginghe van yder capittel; door Césare Ripa* (1662), and a 1698 French translation by Jean Boudain, *Iconologie ou la science des emblemes devises*; a shortened version titled *Iconologia, of uytbeeldinge des verstands* dating from circa 1700; and Hubert Kornelisz. Poot, *Het groot natuur- en zedekundigh werelttoneel of woordenboek van meer dan 1200 aeloude Egiptische, Grieksche en Romeinsche zinnebeelden of beeldenspraek […] op nieu uit de oirsprongklyke schriften van Cezar Ripa, Zarantino Kastellini, Piërus Valerianus,… en andere doorluchtige vernunften getrokken […]* dating from 1726–1750.

[132] See for a detailed analysis Grootes 1995: esp. 87. The limited amount of pictorial material in this volume consisted of conventional Bible illustrations, see Pers 1648. See also Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 453.

422 *Prickelinge in't gemoed.*

bergen van waerdigheyt en heerlijckheyt, ten eynde zy van een yder mogen geſien en gehoort werden: En alſo moetenſe dan wel voor haer ſien, datſe recht ſlaen en vroom wandelen in haere beroepinge: Want alle oogen zijn op haer geveſt, en dienen tot een regel en voordaed van andere. Waer over *Claudianus* ſpreeckende van den Prelaet, aldus ſeyt:

'k Vermaen u dit geſtadigh aen,
Om hier u oogh wat op te ſlaen,
Dat ghy in 't midden van dit rond,
Soo wijſſelijcken leven kont,
Op dat het Volck u mocht beſpien,
En openbaer u daeden ſien.

COMPUNCTIONE of *Prickelinge in't gemoed.*

EEn Vrouwe met een hayren kleed, vol bekommeringe en mistrooſtigheyt, houdende den mond open, als of zy wilde ſpreken, mette oogen die overvloedige traenen uytſtorten, ten Hemel gekeert, en een krans van ſteeckende Doornen om 't hoofd, houdende in haer ſlincker hand een Hert, dat ook met Doornen gekroont is, en de rechter hand om hoogh, ſteeckende de voorſte Vinger recht nae den Hemel.

COMPUNCTIONE.

Met een hayren kleed en ſchreyende wortſe geſtelt, om dat *S. Chryſoſtomus* ſeyt: *Alleen de prickinge in't gemoed doet voor 't koſtele purper ſchricken, en nae 't hayren kleed verlangen, beminnende de traenen, vliedende de lachernien, want zy is Moeder van het weenen.*

Twee Doorne kroonen worden haer gegeven, om dat *David* ſeyt, *terwijl zy van de doorne wort gedruckt*, ſoo wort daer door verſtaen de ſchuld, die door de ſonde is begaen, en die geſtaedigh onſe conſcientien prickelt en ſteeckt: 't welck door de Doorne kroon, die zy op 't hoofd heeft, wort uytgedruckt, weſende evenwel deſe prickelinge, als onvruchtbaer, niet genoegh, om dat dieſelve gemeenlijck voortkomt, door vreeſe van de ſtraffe en kenniſſe van 't quaed: Daerom wort haer oock een kroone om 't Hert gedaen, om door de andere, de waerachtige pricklinge van 't Hert uyt te drucken, die welcke voortkomt, door de onafmetelijcke ſmerte en rechte kenniſſe, van dat zy God, onſe opperſte Goed, heeft vertoornt, en zijne gunſte verloren. En om dat de volmaecke pricklinge of berou behoort vier leeden te hebben, te weeten:

I De alderhooghſte droefheyt, gelijck alreede geſeyt is, en daeromme wortſe vol rouwe en ſchreyende gemaeckt.

II Dat zy een vaſt voornemen moet hebben van niet meer te ſondigen, 't welck door 't opſteken van de voorſte Vinger wort aengewеſen.

III Dat zy een vaſt voornemen hebbe, om God haere ſonde te belijden, daerom wortſe met de opene mond geſtelt.

IV Ten laeſten, dat zy gereet moet zijn om de belofte uyt te voeren, 't welck zy door de opgeſteecken rechter hand beveſtight, en datſe te gelijck vaerdigh zy, om goed te doen naer haer goed en heyligh voornemen.

MALVAGITA. *Quaed-aerdigheyt, Schelmerie.*

EEn oude Moorinne en ſeer leelijcke Vrouwe, gekleet in 't geel, wiens kleed beſet is met Spinnen, doch ſoo groot dat men dieſelve wel ſien kan: en in plaets van de

Fig. 42 'Compunctione', Dirck Pietersz. Pers, *Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje and Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644, 422.

Controversies Surrounding the Catholics

It was acceptable to write about the typically Catholic idea that religious images could be used to explain and visualize theological issues—as Pers did in his translation of the *Iconologia*—but to bring this idea into practice was quite another matter. Support for the idea that God's invisible nature could be depicted in images caused problems for Vondel around 1645.[133] After converting to Catholicism around 1641, Vondel engaged in fierce polemic confrontations with Protestant writers. His attitude towards the religious, allegorical image formed a small, but apparently significant part of the controversies: it was discussed with great acuity on more than one occasion. The much more concealed Catholic paintings in Dutch *schuilkerken* [hidden churches] caused much less controversy than Vondel's openly published poems on the assets of Catholic imagery.[134]

The criticism was not directed against the use of religious imagery in general. Although the publication of Vondel's *Brieven der heilige maeghden, martelaressen* [Letters of Holy Virgins, Martyrs] stirred up considerable debate, it is very unlikely that the title engraving or the portraits of the female saints and martyrs included in the volume formed the focal point of discussion.[135] The fact that these letters were written in the tradition of the *heroides sacrae*—a genre favored by the Jesuits—and were preceded by a hymn to Mary presented much more of a problem.[136] Vondel's title page, with the representation of the Holy Ghost as a dove, drew no critical comments.

Vondel's medallions with portraits of the female saints were not criticized either, even though they derived from the Catholic hagiographical tradition, and were very similar to the portraits found in the Jesuit Heribertus Rosweydus' *Het leven der HH maeghden*, published in 1626.

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[133] Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 559 and 661.

[134] These paintings have been discussed in great detail by van Eck 2008.

[135] The publication was '[aan] veel opspraaks onderworpen' [topic of much debate] according to Vondel's biographer Geeraardt Brandt in Geeraardt Brandt's 'Het leven van Joost van den Vondel', see Vondel 1681: 48.

[136] Mary is given an important role in this hymn; Vondel wrote, for example: 'Ghy kleede Godt, het Woort, met uwen bloede' [You clothed God, the Word, with your blood]', Vondel 1930, 432. A similar text by the Jesuit hagiographer Heribertus Rosweydus', titled *Het leven vande heylighe maghet […] Maria*, could not be printed in Amsterdam by Paets in 1629; it was published under a false printer's address in Leuven.

Fig. 43 Title page in Joost van den Vondel, *Brieven der heilige maeghden, martelaressen*. Amsterdam: Dominicus vander Stichel for Abraham de Wees, 1642.

MARIA MAGDALENE aen JOANNES. 59

S. MARIA MAGDALENE.

MARIA MAGDALENE, zuſter van Martha en Lazarus; van de Joden gehaet, zworf, met haren broeder en zuſter, over zee, naer Maſſilie; van waer zy, om den toeloop des volx te myden, en voort het overſchot des levens, in geſtrenger boetvaerdigheit, te ſlyten, zich begaf, in Provence, op zekeren bergh, van de zee gekabbelt. Hier leetze, in een ſpelonck, aenvechtingen van drakenſpoock en ſlangen, waer voor d' Aertsengel haer beſchutte. Hier wertze gevoedt en gelaeft met hemelſchen dauw, en, van d' Engelen, elck etmael, zevenmael opgetrocken, beluiſterde het maetgezangk der zalige reien, tot datze, na dartigh jaren levens in eenzaemheit, ontfing het allerbeſte deel, haer, van't Orakel der waerheit, belooft.

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Fig. 44 Engraving in Joost van den Vondel, *Brieven der heilige maeghden, martelaressen*. Amsterdam: Dominicus vander Stichel for Abraham de Wees, 1642, 59.

Fig. 45 Engraving in Heribertus Rosweydus, *Het leven der HH. maeghden die van Christvs tijden tot dese eeuwe inden salighen staet der svyverheydt inde wereldt gheleeft hebben. Met een cort tractaet vanden maeghdelycken staet*. Antwerpen: Jan Cnobbaer, 1626.

The illustrations in Vondel's *Brieven der heilige maeghden* received no criticism, but they remained without imitation.[137] Editions of songs on female saints in *Gulde-Iaers Feest-dagen* by the Dutch Catholic priest Johannes Stalpart van der Wielen—first published in 1635—would not be illustrated in reprints published after 1642.[138]

In addition, Vondel was not criticized for using a print by Boetius à Bolswert as a source of inspiration for his *Eeuwgetij der H. Stede* [(Tri-)centenary of the Holy City]. This volume was openly displayed in some Amsterdam bookshops on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the 1345 Eucharistic miracle of Amsterdam, when a consecrated host remained intact despite having been eaten, regurgitated, and burned.[139] Bolswert's idea that the Emperor Maximilian would sooner given up his 'sceptre and crown' than the comfort of Christ, was also Vondel's starting point (see Fig. 46).

The title page of Vondel's *Altaergeheimenissen* [Mysteries of the Altar], also published in 1645 for the anniversary with an engraving made by Theodore (Dirk) Matham, a member of a Catholic family of engravers from Haarlem, also escaped criticism.[140] A female figure standing at the altar, personifying the Catholic faith, confronts five women representing the senses, who must submit to the faith in order to believe the miracle at the altar. 'Grof gevoelen' [the coarse sense of touch], Vondel maintains in an explanatory poem—with an (implied) allusion to the apostle Thomas, who insisted on touching

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[137] These illustrations were probably based on older copperplates judging by the amount of damage visible in the portraits, as argued in Vondel 1930: 428. The portrait of Mary Magdalene is less damaged, and made by a different engraver.

[138] See van Marion 2005: 199, 233 and 245–246. The publication of *Brieven der heilige maeghden* cost Vondel his friendship with Hooft, but for the rest his conversion to Catholicism had little effect on his personal contacts, see Calis 2008: 200–229.

[139] The dependency on Bolswert's example is clear because Vondel made the mistake of dating the miraculous healing of the emperor before his visit to Amsterdam, instead of afterwards, thus interpreting the visit as a gesture of thankfulness, just as Bolswert had done in his engraving, as argued by Brom 1935: 235–238, esp. 235. On the Eucharistic miracle see Hedquist 2008: esp. 174.

[140] Matham based this print on an earlier print of Cornelis Galle II. The dependency on Thomas Aquinas displayed in this print and in the *Altaergeheimenissen* as a whole was noticed by Vondel's contemporaries. Geeraardt Brandt wrote: 'Inzonderheit was men verwondert, dat hij de duistere woorden van Thomas Aquinas, en andere Paapsche Schoolleeraren, ontrent deze stof bedacht, zoo gelukkig in 't Hollantsch wist uit te drukken' [People were especially surprised by the skills he displayed in translating the obscure words of Thomas Aquinas and other Catholic schoolmen on this subject into Dutch]. Brandt 1682: 50. See also Hedquist 2008: 172–173 and the notes in Vondel 1930, 646.

Fig. 46 Engraving by Boetius à Bolswert in Leonardus Marius, *Amstelredams eer ende opkomen door de gedenkwaardige miraklen aldaar geschied aan ende door het H. Sacrament des Altaars*. Antwerpen: Hendrick Aertssens, 1639, facing 62.

before believing—is nearest to the miracle, because she wants to be the first to establish the truth. All of the senses are condemned as untrustworthy, even the sense of sight. 'Sight trusts the eye, but only grasps the colour'. 'Sight' is depicted here as insensitive to the scent of the flowers in front of her (see Fig. 47).[141]

In the following pages of the *Altaergeheimenissen*, Vondel explains to the reader that in matters of religion, sensory responses are surpassed by faith. As a precaution, the *Altaergeheimenissen* was given a printer's address in Cologne, but it was nevertheless distributed freely in the Republic, not censured or criticized by any local or national authority.

To use such clearly Catholic images as illustrative components or as sources of inspiration was thus unproblematic. Further evidence of this is Paets' publication in 1645 of the first Dutch version of the *Pia Desideria*, based on the translation by the Southern Netherlandish priest Justus de Harduwijn.

Vondel's views on the function and status of stained-glass windows with depictions of Jesus on the cross did encounter opposition, however: Vondel was criticized for treating these depictions as visible signs of God's presence on earth. The pivotal issue of these discussions was not the actual absence or presence of illustrations in religious literature, but the value that should be assigned to the religious image. As long as it was applied for purposes of illustration, Catholic authors could operate freely and unrestrained. But matters were quite different when they aspired to a more profound and confessional use of the image. That might account for the fact that even Dutch Catholic authors such as Vondel refrained from any extensive use of images.

The criticism of Vondel did not come from the authorities, but from a group of Protestant poets who published the pamphlet *De poëten vegtschool* [The Poets' School of Combat], containing Vondel's Catholic poems written between 1641 and 1645 together with parodies on these poems, as well as parodies on these parodies.[142] In his 'Klaghte over het veronghelucken der Kerke van Sinte Katharine t'Amsterdam' [Lament on the Demise of the St. Catharine's Church in Amsterdam], Vondel had written that 'Jesus eer' [Jesus' honor] had incurred injury from the fire that destroyed the church:

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[141] ''t Gezicht betrouwt haer oogh, dat vangt alleen de kleuren'. Vondel 1930: 649.

[142] See Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 559 and Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 400–401.

Fig. 47 Title page of Joost van den Vondel, *Altaergeheimenissen: ontvouwen in drie boecken*. Keulen: [s.n.], 1645.

> The apostle himself, yea not even Christ is safe:
> He is scorched on the cross, and singed on his column;'[143]

In a Protestant reaction to this poem, Jacobus Conradus, a student of Calvinist conviction from Leiden, raised the question of whether Vondel was attributing inappropriate qualities to the statues, turning them into idols:

> What? Is he actually being singed on his column?
> No, he who believes that scourges Christ's heart;
> It's not a human being who kneels here in devotion
> And offers living prayers to an image that cannot breathe.
> Shun, then, prayers that destroy Jesus' honor.[144]

In response, Vondel argued that the Reformation extinguished the 'de zon der Godsdienst' [sun of religion] by devaluing Jesus' 'zichtbaer bloet' [visible blood] as a means of grace.[145] This attitude was also criticized by another Protestant, the Remonstrant Jacob Westerbaen, who, in his pamphlet *Kracht des geloofs* [The Power of Faith], opposed Vondel's idea, as articulated in the *Altaergeheimenissen*, that sensory responses and especially visual sensations could enhance a person's faith.[146]

The commotion must have been partially caused by specific features of Vondel's position and personality. At the same time that Vondel was criticized for having these views, another Catholic poet, Jan Vos, frequently articulated his ideas on the merits of religious imagery without meeting any resistance. In a poem written on the viewing of a painting by the Catholic artist Karel Dujardin, most likely 'De kruisiging' [The Crucifixion], Vos testified how his faith was reinforced by the powerful impression made by the visual representation of Christ:

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[143] 'D'Apostel zelf, ja Kristus hangt niet veiligh:/Hy roost aen 't kruis, en zengt aen zyn pylaer;' *Poeten vegtschool* 1645: fol. B3v. The poem had been published as a pamphlet earlier that year by Abraham de Wees in Amsterdam. See Vondel 1930: 612–614.

[144] 'Hoe? Zengt hy eigentlijk aen sijn pylaer?/Neen die 't gelooft sijn boesem streept met stramen//Het is geen mensch die hier Godsdienstig knielt//En levend bidt een beeld dat niet kan aemen./Schuwt dan 't gebedt dat Jesus eer vernielt.' *Poeten vegtschool*: fol. B4r.

[145] 'De Heilant zelf verzagh zijn Kerck/Van middelen, om dees genade/Haer toe te dienen […] Zijn zichtbaer bloet, aen 't Kruis vergoten […].' [The Savior Himself supplied/His church with means, to obtain/This grace […]. His visible blood, shed on the cross'. *Poeten vegtschool*: fol. E1v.

[146] *Kracht des geloofs* [1648]. This pamphlet was published anonymously; see Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 560.

> The mind is enlightened less by the ear than by the eye.
> Truth derives her power from lifelike evidence
> […]
> The painter breathes life into dead paint with his spirit.
> My soul continually longs to enter this church.
> Here there is preaching with the paintbrush,
> Of how Christ prays to His Father
> Before he dies, to release from their guilt
> Those who would take His life
> He thus teaches how to forgive evil.
> The pulpit of the paintbrush has frequently brought about virtue.[147]

In spite of this favorable attitude toward the religious image, Vos refrained from adding imagery to the only religious poem he wrote on the subject of Christ's passion. The text was without illustrations when published separately in 1650, and would remain so when it was included in the anthology *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* in 1651 among similar poems, also unillustrated, by Protestant poets on the same subject and when it was reprinted in Vos' collected works in 1662.[148]

Since these decades seem thoroughly dominated by Protestant restrictions on the use of distinctly Catholic imagery, it is more than likely that Vos felt constrained by the prevailing Protestant printing conventions. Such acts of self-censorship were also performed by Rembrandt, who, in etching the deathbed of Mary—a scene not taken from the Bible, but from Jacobus de Voragine's medieval *Legenda Aurea* [Golden Legends]—left out the cross and candles, elements of the Catholic iconographical tradition openly opposed by the Protestants in 1645.[149] It seems likely that Vos, when writing on Christ's passion, a subject especially favored by Dutch Reformed authors at the time, decided to publish his *Goede Vrydagh* without illustrations to be spared criticism. Even though his subject was not as controversial as Mary's

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[147] 'Het brein wordt min verlicht door d'ooren dan door 't oog./De Waarheidt krijgt haar kracht door leevendige blyken/[…]/Hier blaast hy [de schilder] leeven, door zyn geest, in doode verven./Mijn ziel heeft lust om staâg in deeze kerk te gaan./Hier preekt men, door 't penseel, hoe Christus voor zijn sterven//Zijn Vaader bidt, dat hy die hem naar 't leeven staan//Van hunne schuldt ontslaat./Zoo leert hy 't quaadt vergeeven./ De preekstoel van 't penseel heeft dikwils deugdt bedreeven'. Vos 1662: 787–788. The painting's title and present location are discussed in Hoogewerff 1940: 111.

[148] Vos 1650; *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* 1651; Vos 1662: 751 and 758.

[149] Rembrandt adhered to the Protestant position in another respect as well: many of his etchings of biblical scenes convey the importance of hearing (the Word) over seeing. See Perlove and Silver 2009: 45–48 and 73, 114.

deathbed, visual additions to religious literary genres outside the realm of the picture Bible and the biblical print were potentially divisive, and any commotion on this point would only distract attention from his poetic achievements.[150]

Religious Toleration and Religious Identities

Between 1630 and 1650, all denominations found common ground in the production of Bible illustrations. This unity was based on the assumption that these visual enhancements of the Bible were to be perceived and produced as literal and factual representations of biblical stories: under this condition confessional overtones were pushed to the background. The growing number of picture Bibles produced by members of all denominations, as well as the custom of hanging biblical prints on the walls of one's house, testify to the widespread nature of this consensus.[151]

Curiously enough, at the same time that this unity was achieved, the various denominations became much more outspoken in articulating their specific identities. The Dutch Reformed proved receptive to restrictive views on the use of religious images, and consequently rejected allegorical, emblematic imagery. The Anabaptists freed themselves from the Dutch Reformed yoke, but did so in a most uncontroversial manner by adopting an allegorical theme which supported their own intentions but did not derive from Catholic visual, allegorical practices. The Catholics were starting to form their own identity by producing disguised and barely recognizable versions of the *Pia Desideria*. The controversies of the 1640s reveal that open manifestations of the Catholic faith, such as Vondel's articulation of the Catholic position on the visibility of faith, encountered resistance in these years, not only from the Dutch Reformed but also other Protestants, forcing the Dutch Catholics to take on an identity which was partially based on the Southern Netherlandish example, but which was compromised by Protestant restraints.

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[150] Most of the Protestant poems on Christ's passion in the *Verscheyde Nederduytsche gedichten* were written by Dutch Reformed authors (Dullaert, Huygens, De Decker, Martinius).

[151] See Mochizuki 2009a.

CHAPTER FIVE

WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY, 1653–1678

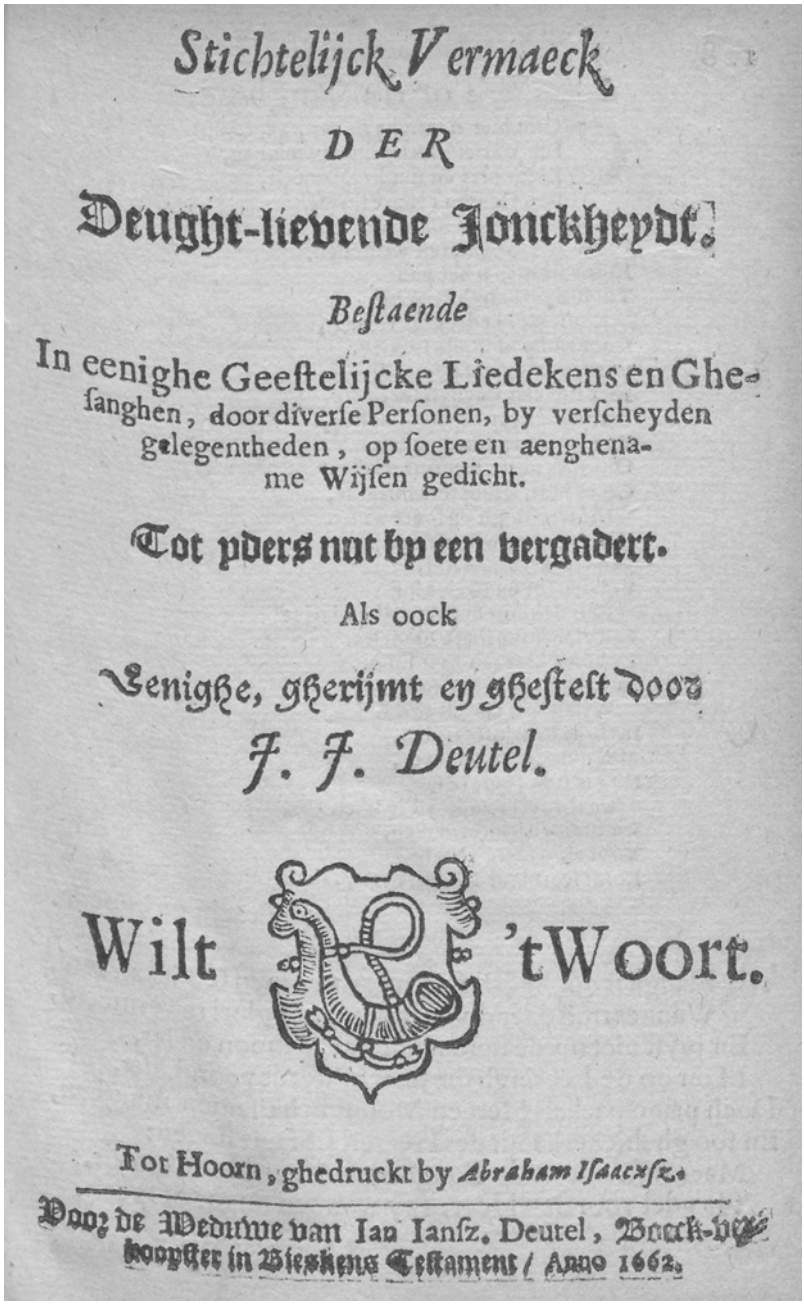
After 1637 the production of picture Bibles had, as we have seen, rapidly become interconfessional in nature. From the 1650s through the 1680s, more and more liberties were taken as confessional overtones were added to some new editions made by Catholic and Anabaptist publishers. Religious emblematic imagery also came to be used somewhat more freely: certain innovative but isolated representatives of the Anabaptists as well as the Catholics produced religious emblems books which hardly differed from Catholic emblem collections as produced in the Southern Netherlands during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Dutch Reformed, for their part, appropriated some elements of Catholic iconography for use as illustrative material on title pages of their publications.

It should also be noted here that even though interest in religious imagery was growing, the majority of all Dutch religious works remained unillustrated between 1653 and 1680. In matters of religion, the word was still preferred over the image. Visual means were mainly used to emphasize the importance of the text, as is most obvious in the case of the title page of Jan Jansz. Deutel's *Stichtelijck vermaeck der deught-lievende jonckheydt* [Edifying Pleasures for the Virtuous Youth], on which the typographically enhanced printer's device of Abraham Isaacz van der Beeck underlines the priority of the Word—'Wilt 't Woord' [Desire the Word] (see Fig. 48).

The publisher's message that the reader should focus on the word comes through loud and clear. The early seventeenth-century restrictive attitude, based on Dutch Reformed restraints, was still dominant.

New Additions to Picture Bibles

Interconfessional collaboration was very common in the production of picture Bibles in the 1630s and 1640s, and would become even more common in the 1650s. This is evident from the presence of engravings based on Rubens' paintings, made by Pieter Hendricksz. Schut, in Visscher's *Tooneel ofte Vertooch der Bybelsche Historien* [Theatre or



Stichtelijck Vermaeck

DER

Deught-lievende Jonckheydt.

Bestaende

In eenighe Geestelijcke Liedekens en Ghesanghen, door diverse Personen, by verscheyden gelegentheden, op soete en aenghename Wijsen gedicht.

Tot yders nut by een vergadert.

Als oock

Venighe, gherijmt en ghestelt door

J. J. Deutel.

Wilt 't Woort.

Tot Hoorn, ghedruckt by Abraham Isaacxsz.

Voor de Weduwe van Ian Iansz. Deutel, Boeck-verkoopster in Bieskens Testament / Anno 1662.

Fig. 48 Title page Jan Jansz. Deutel, *Stichtelijck vermaeck der deught-lievende jonckheydt*. Hoorn: Abraham Isaacz. van der Beeck, 1662.

depiction of the biblical stories] dating from 1659[1] and from the re-use of texts written by the Catholic convert Reyer Anslo when the Pro-testant Gillis Joosten and Danckert Danckertsz published the *Bybel-Printen, vertoonende de voornaemste historien en afbeeldtsels der Heylige Schrifture* [Biblical Prints, presenting the main stories and images of Holy Scripture] in 1659.[2] Such productions were permissible because of the (perceived) literalness of Bible illustrations, as discussed in the previous chapter, and also because the texts written to accompany the prints were devoid of any polemics or confessional apologetics. Along-side an illustration of the Apocalypse, the Dutch readers first encountered a prose explanation of the biblical text, written by Schabaelje:

> The second vision of God's Glory, and the Lamb.
>
> The first vision in which Christ portrayed Himself […], is followed by a second one in which God reveals Himself, sitting on a royal throne, with the appearance of jasper and sardius stone and the throne is surrounded by a rainbow and twenty-four more thrones, on which twenty-four elders are seated with crowns on their heads. When the beasts that are around the throne give glory and thanks to God, the elders sing praise to God, casting down their crowns; thereafter, a Lamb presents itself as it had been slain, which is a reference to Christ; it receives the sealed Book which God held in His hand, and opens this book, which no other creature on earth or in heaven could do by itself.[3]

This prose explanation is followed by a short poem by Anslo, which also contains a literal paraphrase of the biblical fragment:

> God is seated on an Emerald, where two times twelve souls,
> Reverently kneel without their crowns at the sight of Him;

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[1] Van der Coelen 1998: 172 and 174.

[2] Anslo had written these texts in 1648, see van der Coelen 1998: 171. He converted to Catholicism in 1654, see Bork and Verkruijsse 1985: 50.

[3] 'Het tweede gesichte van Godts Heerlijckheyt, en van het Lam. Na het eerste gesichte waer in Christus sich selfs af-ghebeelt heeft […], volght het tweede daer in Godt sich vertoont, sittende op een Koninclijcken Throon, welcke den steen Iaspis en Sardys gelijck was, en rondtom den Throon wert vertoont een regen-boogh, ende noch vier-en-twintigh Throonen, op dewelcke sitten vier-en-twintigh Ouderlingen met Kroonen op hare hoofden, die wanneer de vier Dieren die rondtom den Throon zijn, heerlijcke eere ende de danckbaerheyt Gode gheven, en hare Kroonen neder werpende Gode toesinghen: daer na vertoont sich een Lam staende als geslachtet, 't welck geduyt wert op Christum, die het versegelt Boeck dat Godt in sijn handt hadt, alleen uyt sijne hant ontfanght en opent, door diender gheen Schepsel in Hemel en op Aerde het selve konde openen.'. *Bybel-Printen* 1659: fol. Pp2r.

Fig. 49 *Bybel-Printen, vertoonende de voornaemste historien en afbeeldtsels der Heylige Schrifture; beneffens de sin-rijcke vaersen […] door […] R. Anslo.* Amsterdam: Gillis Joosten and Danckert Danckertsz., 1659, fol. Pp2r.

How His glory resounds in the eternal paradise!
Heaven continually offers heavenly praise to the Lord.[4]

The fact that both Schabaelje and Anslo had written in this literal, descriptive style meant that Danckertsz, although most likely Dutch Reformed himself, could re-use texts written by an Anabapist and a newly Catholic author.[5]

Yet, as becomes apparent from this example, in the decades after 1650 more and more liberties were taken. In the above print, God is portrayed as a human being: similar depictions had been removed from existing plates in the 1630s and 1640s, but apparently new forms of freedom arose around 1650. The Anabaptist publisher Schabaelje was one of the first to depart from conventional practices by (re)introducing Hiël's spiritual way of reading the Bible. In his *Grooten Figuer-Bibel* [Large Picture Bible] of 1646, Schabaelje worked with the same plates Visscher had used for his *Theatrum Biblicum* in 1639.[6] Schabaelje urged his readers—just as Hiël had done at the end of the sixteenth century—to use the illustrations as an aid in deciphering the relationship between the Old and the New Testament, and to use these insights to examine their own spiritual progress. For his *Emblemata Sacra* (1653) and *Den grooten Emblemata Sacra* (1654), Schabaelje relied even more on Hiël's example, as he re-used the oldest series of plates (which included anthropomorphic representations of God) to produce these volumes. Schabaelje also re-used Hiël's texts, supplementing them with some of his own with the purpose of emphasizing the 'seer schoone en innerlicke verklaringen' [very beautiful and spiritual explanations] of van der Borcht's plates.[7]

Another innovation was made by the Catholic publisher Paets when he introduced religious emblematic imagery in the Bible illustration: first in his *Bibels tresoor* [Biblical Treasure] dating from 1646, and then in his *Biblia Sacra dat is De geheele Heylighe Schrifture* [Sacred Bible, that is the Entire Holy Scripture] in 1657. In these volumes, biblical texts were accompanied by woodcuts made by the van Sichem

[4] 'Godt zit op een Smaragd, daar twee-maal twalef Zielen/Op 't aanzicht zonder Kroon, eerbiedigh neder knielen;/Hoe klinckt zijn heerlickheyt in 't eeuwigh-duerendt Hof!/Den Hemel geeft altijdt de Heer des Hemels lof.'. *Bybel-Printen* 1659: fol. Pp2v.

[5] The Dankerts family mainly produced prints and maps, and the books they published had no specific religious orientation. Their social life took place in Dutch Reformed circles, so it can be assumed that this was also the denomination of their preference. See Frederiks and van den Branden 1881: 188.

[6] Van der Coelen 1998, 165–166.

[7] Quoted in van der Coelen 1998: 169.

family, based on engravings by Boetius à Bolswert among others. Paets' emblematic approach becomes instantly apparent from the title page of the *Biblia Sacra*.

The Holy Spirit, represented as a dove above an opened Bible, is surrounded by an emblematic representation of the believer's heart and by blood spraying from Christ's wounds.

Inside the book, the biblical texts are interspersed with similar emblematic images. By publishing the *Biblia Sacra*, Paets went beyond the conventions set by the Protestants in the Republic: the *Biblia Sacra* was the first lavishly illustrated Bible to be produced in the Republic.[8] In placing this product on the market, Paets added a new feature to the Dutch Catholic identity.[9]

The additions made to picture Bibles conformed to developments observable in other literary genres from the 1630s through the 1650s: the Dutch Reformed kept aloof of innovations, while Catholic and Anabaptist publishers showed a new ambition to profile their own identities by introducing new ways of using the religious image.

Appropriation of Emblematic, Allegorical Imagery

Along with the growing opportunities for the allegorical, emblematic picture Bible and even an illustrated version of the entire Dutch Bible, came the rise of the Catholic emblem in Dutch religious literature. Before 1678, only the eccentric Protestant Petrus Serrarius and the controversial Catholic Everard Meyster would embrace the genre as it had developed in the Southern Netherlands shortly after 1600, namely as a means to facilitate the affective conversation between the soul and God. The Dutch Reformed appropriated only some pictorial emblematic motifs, while the Anabaptists slowly moved to a more liberal use of the allegorical image in their publications: the blueprint of their

[8] Paets' edition is based on the Moerentorf Bible dating from 1599. Another Dutch reprint of this Bible—without illustrations—had already been published in 1653 by Joachim van Metelen in Amsterdam, indicating the growing opportunities for the production of Catholic Bibles in the Republic.

[9] Elsewhere in Western Europe, the Catholics also contributed much more to biblical literary practices than is often assumed, as argued in Carter 2007: 440. One example Carter mentions is the Catholic Bible translation in English, produced two years prior to the King James Version.

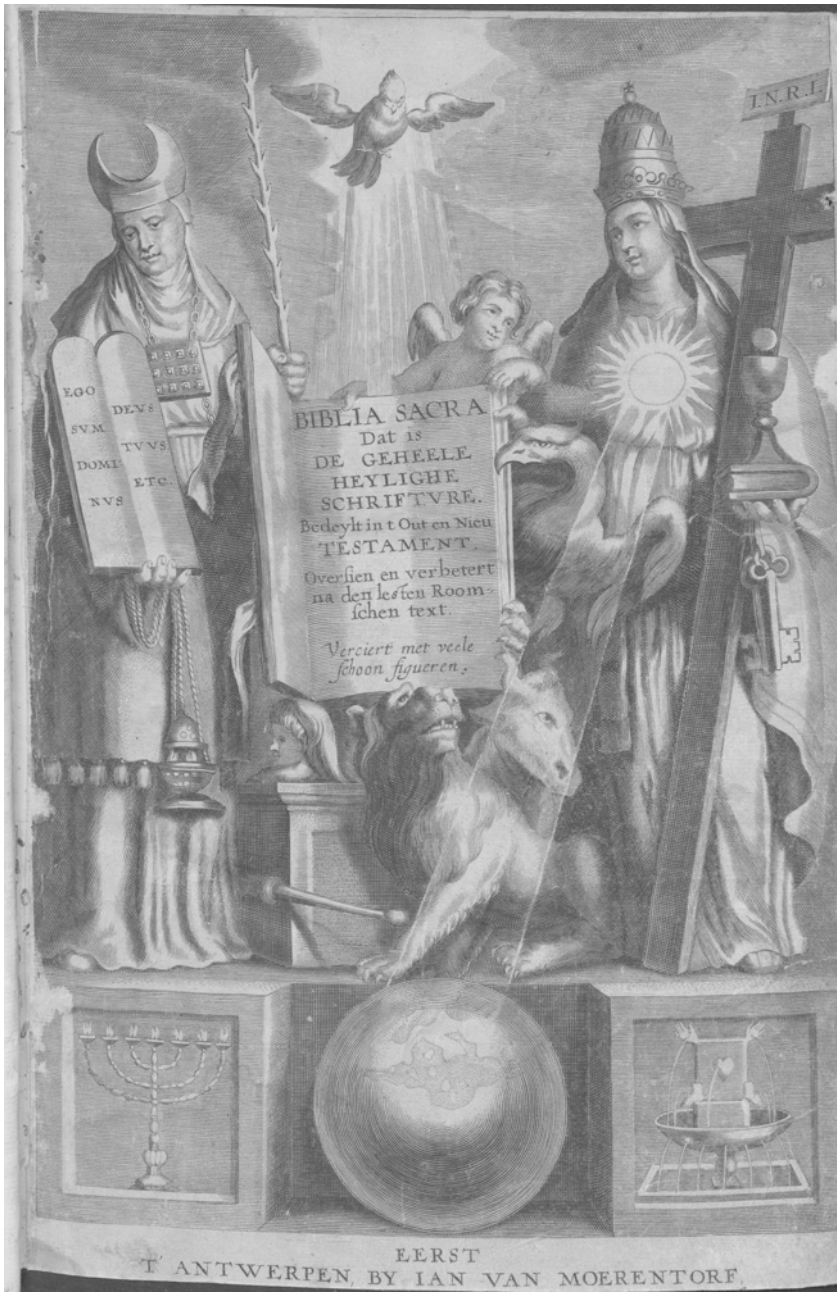

Fig. 50 *Biblia Sacra dat is De geheele Heylighe Schrifture*. Amsterdam: Pieter Jacobsz. Paets, 1657.

religious emblem books, however, did not originate in the Catholic tradition.

Petrus Serrarius' Goddelycke aandachten

The advance of the Southern Netherlandish religious emblem in the Republic began in 1653 with the publication of the first Dutch translation of the *Pia Desideria* made in the Republic. The volume, titled *Goddelycke aandachten* [Divine Meditations], was translated by the mystic and chiliast Petrus Serrarius.[10] In line with Serrarius' unorthodox ideas, the *Goddelycke aandachten* propounded a mystical and idiosyncratic version of the *Pia Desideria*. Serrarius was convinced that imitating Jesus' example would result in a state of mind in which the reader would be 'overformt' [reshaped] to coincide with His image.[11] He therefore focused on fragments of the *Pia Desideria* in which the love between God and the soul is presented as an overwhelming and unifying force, thus adapting Hugo's original to his own purpose.[12]

The origins of Serrarius' eccentric adaptation were as international and varied as Serrarius' own background. Serrarius was born in London, the son of parents who had fled from the Southern Netherlands to escape from Spanish rule. He was educated in the Republic to serve as a priest in the French-speaking Reformed Church (the 'Waalse kerk'), but was forced to leave this church in 1628. Afterwards he preferred to refer to himself as a 'priester van de algemene christelijke kerk' [priest of the Universal Christian Church]. Only a limited number of believers proved to be interested in his unorthodox ideas.[13]

In producing his *Goddelycke aandachten*, Serrarius cooperated with the Amsterdam publisher Salomon Savrij, who produced copies of copperplates originally made for a 1628 Latin edition of Hugo's *Pia*

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[10] The first Dutch translation of the *Pia Desideria* published by Paets in 1645 had been made by the Southern Netherlandish priest Justus de Harduwijn, titled *Goddelycke wenschen verlicht met sinnebeelden en vierige uytspraken der out-vaders door Iustus de Hardvyn P.*

[11] A process Serrarius described in the preface he wrote to his translation of a tract by Tauler, titled *Aendachtighe oeffeningen over het leven ende lijden Iesu Christi*. Quoted in van der Wall 1987: 122–126.

[12] In contrast with Hugo, Serrarius proclaimed that the love of God will reach out to all people, and not only to those who behave well.

[13] On Serrarius' eccentric and non-irenic position see van der Wall 1987: 12, 45 and 241; and Frijhoff, Spies and van Bunge 2004: 415–419.

Desideria published by Henrick van Hastens in Antwerp. Instead of Paets' Northern Netherlandish edition of the *Pia Desideria* produced in 1645, Serrarius thus chose to work with a variant from the Southern Netherlands which had never been published in the Republic and seems to have been completely unknown to the Dutch readership. The new title engraving for this 1628 edition by Hastens, less erudite and more emotional than the original title engraving Boetius à Bolswert made for the 1624 edition of the *Pia Desideria*, was also re-used by Savrij. The soul is shown carrying a burning heart which is almost too large to be lifted, and into an opening at the top of the heart *amor divinus* is pouring the fire of love (see Fig. 51).

This title engraving, based on a Wierix print from the series *Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum*, mentioned in Chapter 3, anchored Serrarius' adaptation even more firmly in the Southern Netherlandish tradition.

Even though Serrarius perceived devotional, emblematic imagery to be an important aid in the rebirth of mankind, he himself did not envision a radical change in the use of emblematic religious imagery in the Republic.[14] The rest of Serrarius' religious works remained unillustrated—even his title pages often lacked pictorial material.[15] When his central theme was the invisibility of (the road to) God, as in *Van den waere wegh tot God* [The true road to God], dating from 1661, the use of religious imagery was neither discussed nor demonstrated.[16] Serrarius obviously did not intend to change the Protestant opinions on the applicability and usefulness of sight in religious matters in general.

Whether he intended such a large-scale effect or not, the *Goddelycke aandachten* was to become an important stimulus to a major cultural shift in Dutch Protestantism by serving as inspiration for Jan Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* [Jesus and the soul], the landmark book in Dutch

[14] In his preface, Serrarius describes how he himself was deeply moved by the images: 'ziende eerst deze Zinnebeelden […], mijn hert daar van niet weynig is geraakt geweest' [Looking at these emblems for the first time, my heart was deeply moved]. Serrarius 1653: fol. *5v.

[15] In one particular case, the Dutch version of one of his works, *Van den waere wegh tot God*. (Alkmaar: Jacob Pietersz. Moerbeeck, 1661) was not illustrated, while the English version—published a year later—was; see *A Awakening. Warning to the Wofull World*. Amsterdam: [s.n], 1662.

[16] This whole treatise is devoted to issues of visibility: Serrarius, for instance, mentions 'een duyvels Licht' [a devilish light], which can deceive people, just as there are false prophets who wrongly claim to spread Jesus' teachings. Serrarius 1661: 54 and 85.

Fig. 51 title page Petrus Serrarius, *Goddelycke aandachten*, first produced in Amsterdam: Salomon Savrij, 1653.

Protestant religious emblematics published in 1678.[17] Between the publication of the *Goddelycke aandachten* in 1653 and Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* in 1678, there were more and more instances of Protestant appropriation of Catholic iconography: Serrarius' *Goddelycke aandachten*, therefore, marks a turning point in the visual practices of Dutch Protestants.

The Gradual Shift of the Dutch Reformed

Rather surprisingly, considering the evidently profound influence of Voetius' strict views on the use of religious imagery, the most extensive forms of appropriation between 1653 and 1678 were found among the Dutch Reformed, particularly in religious works published by Dutch Reformed Pietists.[18] The religious emblematic image was slowly integrated in the Further Reformation's pursuit of the ongoing reformation of the church, society, and the state. Around the same time, hymnbooks were introduced to enhance devotional practices. The reason for these innovations must have been that all means were considered permissible—even the ones rejected on principle in the past—in order to achieve the desired goal of the believer's sanctification. For the same reason, profane melodies were introduced in hymnbooks. In contrast to Serrarius, the Dutch Reformed did not fully adopt the concept of the Catholic religious emblem: only certain elements of Catholic iconography were incorporated to highlight the Pietistic features of these works.

Emblematic Elements on Title Pages and in Printer's Devices

Religious emblematic imagery first appeared on Dutch Reformed title pages produced in the early 1650s. The Utrecht publisher Henricus Versteegh, for instance, placed an emblematic scene on the title page of his 1655 edition of Christopher Love's *Love redivivus. Ofte sijn 16. alder-laetste predicatiën* [Love Resurrected], or His Sixteen Last

[17] The *Goddelycke aandachten* was reprinted in 1657 by Christoffel Luyken. See on this printing history Meeuwesse 1950: 317–323; Van 't Veld 2000: 29, and 37–38, and Heijting 2007: 219–220.

[18] See on the spiritual intentions of the Further Reformation and its Dutch representatives de Reuver 2007.

Sermons].[19] Versteegh modeled the iconography of his title engraving on Hulsius' example, as seen in his *Emblemata Sacra* of 1631.

The rest of the volume remained without illustrations, but Versteegh did invest in having this title page engraved. The rectangular engraving, though based on the circular *pictura* found in Hulsius' emblem book, appears to have been especially made for this 1655 edition of *Love redivivus*.

The emblematic motif of the speech bubble and of a flaming heart to represent the reader's fervent inner devotion occur most frequently on title pages.[20] The two motifs were combined on the title page of the fourth edition of *De wech des levens* [The Road of Life], written by the Dutch Reformed minister Guiljemus Saldenus. The first three editions of this devotional tract had been published with unillustrated title pages, but Saldenus' publisher apparently adjusted to the new opportunities when he inserted this illustration in the 1665 edition.[21]

The readers could identify with the churchgoers depicted on this title page, while their devotional intentions were represented by a burning heart being lifted toward heaven by a hand reaching from the clouds. The heart is addressed by a voice from heaven, portrayed as a line of text: 'Sone geeft my uw herte' [Son, give me your heart].[22] In a preliminary poem by Cornelius Witsius, the *De wech des levens* is advertised as a book that can make the depicted scene the reader's reality: 'A Christian Soul that reads this book//Is moved to true humil-

[19] The English Puritan minister Christopher Love was executed in 1651 as a warning to the English Presbyterians of what would happen to those who opposed Parliament in favor of Charles II. Many of his sermons and treatises were translated into Dutch; about thirty-five editions of this work appeared between 1651 and 1690. The English source for this Dutch translation has not been traced; see Schoneveld 1983: 215 and Kistler 1994.

[20] The motif of the heart aflame was perhaps used often because of a direct link with the Bible text of Luke 24:32: 'Did not our heart burn within us?', words used by two disciples to describe their conversation on the road to Emmaus the day after Jesus was crucified. When they realized later that it was Jesus who had accompanied them, they exclaimed: 'Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?'

[21] The first edition was published in 1657 by Jacob Brouwer in Enkhuizen, the second and third in 1658 and 1662 by Jacob van Doeyenborch in Utrecht.

[22] Based on Proverbs 23: 26: 'My son, give me thine heart'. See for a similar printing history also Hermannus Witsius, *Twist des Heeren met sijn wyngaerdt, de selve overtuygende van […] schadelijcke nieuwigheden van opinien*. The first edition of this volume, printed in Leeuwarden in 1669 by Jacob P. Hagenaer, had an unillustrated title page; the second one, dating from 1671, had an engraved title page.

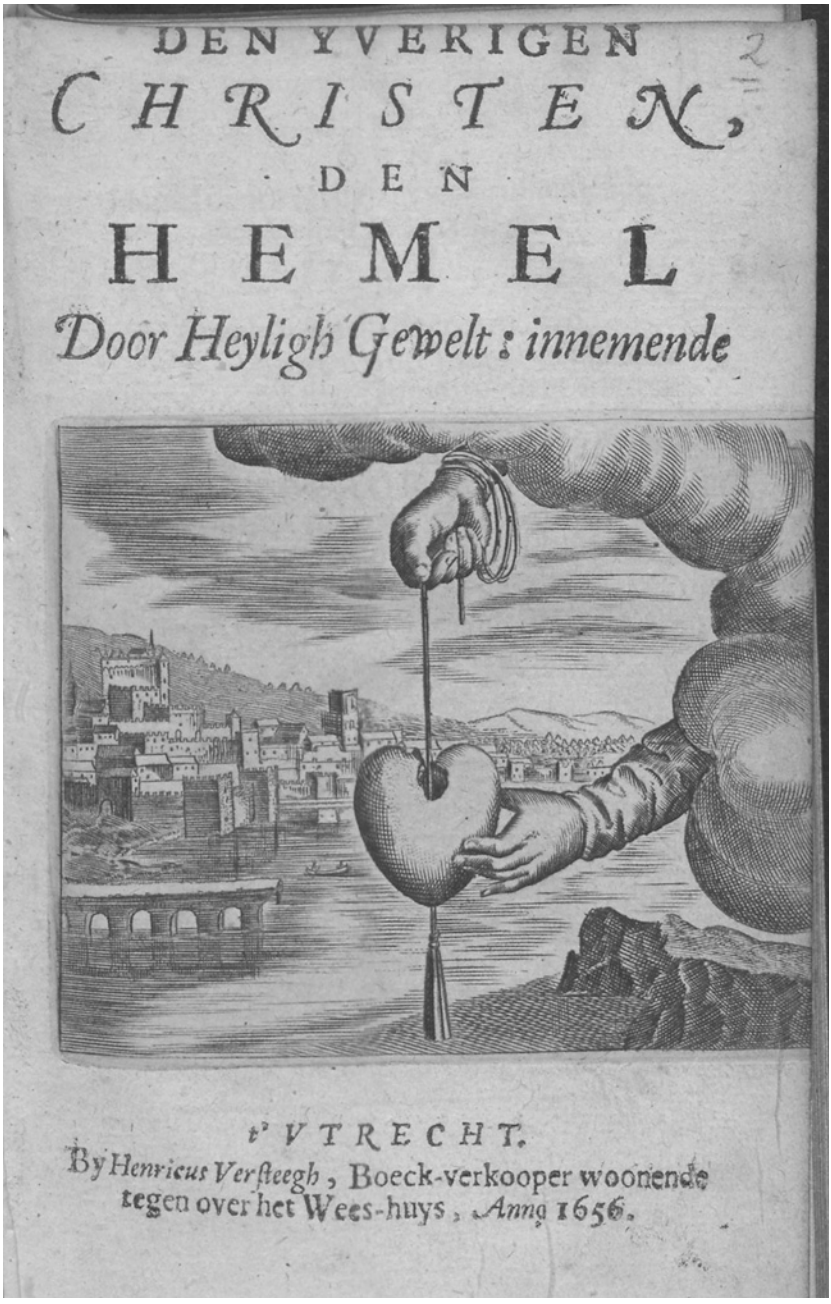

Fig. 52 Christopher Love, *Love redivivus. Ofte sijn 16. alder-laetste predicatien*, Utrecht: Henricus Versteegh, 1655.

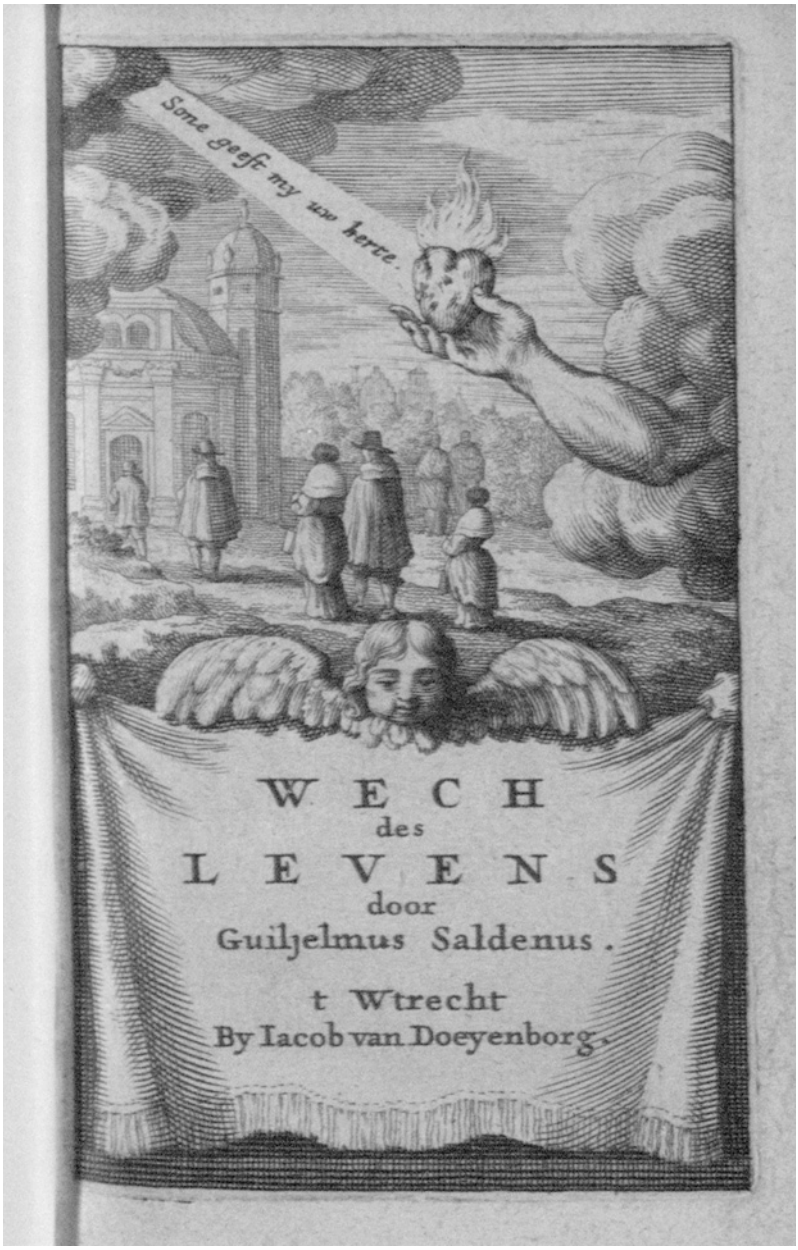

Fig. 53 title page from Guiljemus Saldenus, *De wech des levens; ofte, Korte ende eenvoudige onderwysinge, van de natuer ende eygenschappen van de ware kracht der godsalicheyt*. Utrecht: Jacob van Doeyenborch, 1665.

ity./It works upon the Spirit fervently//And presses tears from eyes.'[23] Inside the volume the readers found texts on the need to devote one's life to God.

It is very likely that the inspiration to introduce these pictorial motifs partly derived from the Catholic emblematic tradition, but an additional stimulus seems to have been the English example, in view of the printing history of the 1661 edition of another work by Love, titled *Naackt vertoogh van den algemeenen schrickelicken dagh des oordeels, tot waerschouwinge voor alle christenen* [Plain Treatise on the Last Judgment, Serving As a Warning to all Christians]. The publisher Adriaen Baldeus from Middelburg added fold-out prints of Bible illustrations with emblematic elements to Love's texts. One of them included all the religious symbols detested by Voetius (the triangle representing the Holy Trinity, the dove etc.) (see Fig. 54).

The illustration is accompanied by a line of text: 'voor de wtvercoorene van het gestrecken vonnis voltrecksel' [for those singled out for execution of the judgment]. Was the engraving made by an English engraver who was not aware of the Dutch sensibilities at the time? This would at least explain how even the most controversial pictorial motifs were slowly integrated into Bible illustrations employed by the Dutch Reformed outside the genre of the picture Bible: the publisher Adriaen Baldeus evidently had no great qualms about offering it to his public.

Simonides' Verhemelde ziele *and* Het rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. avondmael

In some isolated cases, the innovations went beyond emblematic illustrations on title pages or the addition of emblematic elements in Bible illustrations. The *Verhemelde ziele* [Heavenly soul] by the Dutch Reformed minister Simon Simonides included a number of allegorical, emblematic engravings representing 'de Wegh des levens na Boven' [the road of life leading to heaven].[24] One of these engravings is devoted to the theme of 'seeing', with 2 Cor. 4:18 as its motto: 'While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal':

[23] 'Een Christen Ziele die dit leest//Die werdt in waer ootmoedt bewogen./Dit werckt met yver op den Geest//En parst de tranen uyt de oogen.'. Saldenus 1665: fol. A9r.
[24] Simonides 1658: 312.

Fig. 54 Christopher Love, *Naackt vertoogh van den algemeenen schrickelicken dagh des oordeels, tot waerschouwinge voor alle christenen*, Middelburg, Adriaen Baldeus, 1661, facing fol. 30.

Wij mercken niet aen die dingen, die men Siet, maer die men niet en
Siet; want die dingen die men Siet ſijn tijdelijck, maer die din:
gen die men niet en Siet ſijn eeuwig. 2. Cor: 4. v. 18.
Komt mens: Leert hier de Dood en Jammerpoel, ontvlughten:
En luiſtert na de Zang der Engelen Soet ackoort:
Daar't driemaal heiligh galmt door d'onbeſmette lughten;
En t'aanschyn Gods beſtraalt den Hemel door en door.
Heer: laat een Zeraphim, gewoon't geſight te dekken,
Voor deez 'te hellen glans ons oog wat overtrekken.
H.Dullaart.

Fig. 55 Simon Simonides, *Verhemelde ziele*, Rotterdam, Johannes Vishoeck, 1658.

Depicted is a man gazing upward with a Bible in his hand; he is supported by a minister who looks at the man while pointing at heaven with his finger. Angels are seated near a sun, which, in the accompanying poem by Heimen Dullaert, is identified as 't'aanschyn Gods' [God's countenance, or presence]. A skeleton and burning globe at the bottom of the picture represent the (earthly) Hell. In its complexity and abstractness, Simonides' imagery resembled earlier Catholic emblematic prints, while the pilgrimage motif probably originated in the Anabaptist tradition. The fact that God Himself is represented by the symbolic sun indicates a clear break with the Dutch Reformed practices as established by Voetius in the 1630s.

In adding the images to his *Verhemelde ziele*, Simonides assumed that the reader could visualize religious teachings. In the preface to the volume, he mentions the '*Symbola*' used by prominent kings and queens to express their orientation toward a more spiritual, divine kingdom: the symbol of a 'sunflower stretched toward the sun' was used by Margaretha, Queen of Navarra, together with the caption '*Non inferiora secutus. Ten vint beneden niet dat het volge*' [That which it would follow it finds not here below].[25] With this in mind, Simonides set out to use 'sweet stories, proverbs, images and comparisons to shed more light on these matters, and to set more clearly before the eyes of readers how they could readily be put into practice, and serve as effective exercises.[26] The less schooled readers formed his target audience. Simonides wrote with the purpose of serving even the '*alderminste*' [the very least, i.e. the simplest reader], just as when he preached in his church.[27]

All components in the *Verhemelde ziele* were meant to contribute to the reader's comprehension of the subject. As Simonides discusses the term 'nummus Dei' [God's coin], for instance, he refers to the custom of rulers having their portrait imprinted on coins, just as God imprints His presence onto our souls. He relates this to the story told in the Bible about Jesus' teaching to give unto Caesar what is his, and to God what is God's: the lesson, then, is that we should devote all of

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[25] 'een *Sonnebloemtjen*, gestreckt na de *Son*'; '*Non inferiora secutus. Ten vint beneden niet dat het volge*'. Simonides 1658: fol. *4v.

[26] 'soo hebbe ick my oock bevlijtight, om met eenige soete Historien, Spreucken, Verbeeldingen, Gelijckenissen, &c. de saken meer lichts te geven, en voor der Leseren oogen klaerder te setten, oock des te eer tot de practijcke, en dadelijcke oeffeninge souden mogen gebracht werden'. Simonides 1658: fol. *6r.

[27] Simonides 1658: fol. *6r. Simonides' intentions are in detail discussed in Postema 2008.

our soul to God.[28] At this point, Simonides maintains, he could lecture the reader about the soul's capacities, but would not do so, because it would distract attention from the real issue, which is the devotion of the soul to God. The reader is then treated to some verses: 'To further elucidate what has been said here, and to give you, reader, a little time to breathe, I will also render these thoughts in a sweet poem'.[29]

Simonides never sought a radical change in Dutch Reformed devotional practices. All of his books published after the *Verhemelde ziele* remained unillustrated, and in the *Verhemelde ziele* itself the images were not mentioned in Simonides' text. The word was only marginally supported by the image, and Simonides never intended his use of religious imagery to be anything like Catholic visual practices. In fact, a number of aspects of the Catholic tradition are discussed with great aversion by Simonides in the preface to the *Verhemelde ziele*: he characterizes Franciscus of Assisi as one of the 'extatische doctoren' [ecstatic scholars], and cloisters as the forecourts of hell.

The *Verhemelde ziele* was never reprinted: it apparently did not arouse the curiosity of Dutch Reformed readers. Simonides' colleagues were more supportive. The minister Johannes Vollenhove, a personal friend of Simonides, wrote a preliminary verse for the *Verhemelde ziele*, which made no mention of the presence of the images, and praised the fact that Simonides built his argument 'uit Gods woord' [out of God's word]. Another minister, Franciscus Ridderus, who had worked with Simonides in 1658 on a supplement to his *Dagelijkse huys-catechisatie* [Daily Catechism at Home], was perhaps inspired to enlarge the 1659 edition of this work with a title engraving which was very similar to Simonides' engravings, showing the faithful in their daily devotional exercises:[30]

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[28] Mark 12:13–17: 'And they send unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, to catch him in his words. And when they were come, they said unto him, Master, we know that thou art true, and carest for no man: for thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth: Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not? Shall we give, or shall we not give? But he, knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, Why tempt ye me? Bring me a penny, that I may see it. And they brought it. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? And they said unto him, Caesar's. And Jesus answering said unto them, Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.'

[29] 'Om het geseyde noch wat meer lichts te geven, en uw, *Leser*! een *weynigh adems*, sal ick uw de gemelde *bedenckinge* in een soet *Vaersjen* uytgedruckt geven'. Simonides 1658: 340–342, quote on 342.

[30] The 1658 edition was titled *Francisci Ridderi Huys-gesangen, gepast op sijn Huyscatechisatie, hier is by gevought een proufken van geestelijcke gesangen, door de*

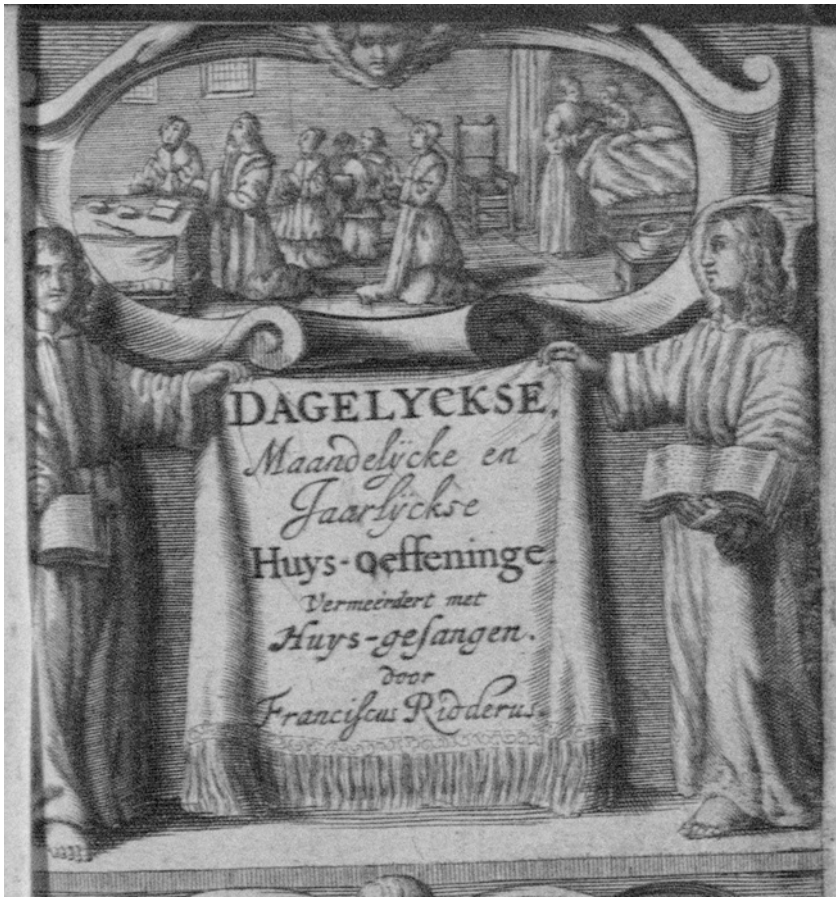

Fig. 56 Franciscus Ridderus, *Dagelijkxsche huys-catechisatie*. Rotterdam: Joannes Næranus, 1659.

The copperplate of this engraving was to be re-used again and again after 1659 by various publishers. In the eighteenth-century editions not many of its original qualities remained, but this was apparently no reason to reconsider its use, or to replace it with a new one.

A more widespread success of an illustrated Dutch Reformed devotional volume followed in 1670, with the publication of *Het rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. avondmael* [On the Proper use of the

E. D. Simon Simonides; Huys-gesangen, gepast op sijn Huyscatechisatie. Rotterdam: Johannes Vishoeck, 1658.

Lord's Supper], a collection of texts intended for use before and after the Lord's Supper. About seventy-five earlier unillustrated works on the Lord's Supper had been printed in the Republic for the Dutch Reformed. *Het rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. avondmael* marked a clear break, in the 1670s, with the custom of not illustrating Dutch Reformed religious works. It was even more significant that illustrations were added to texts on the controversial subject of the Lord's Supper, which had been debated fiercely between Protestants and Catholics, specifically in relation to the issue of visibility in the Christian faith: Protestant criticism of the Catholic concept of transubstantiation, the change of the substance of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, had focused on the absence of change in the visible, empirical appearances of the bread and wine.

Het rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. avondmael became an instant success. Between 1670 and 1776, over a hundred reprints were published.[31] Over the years, new copperplates for the illustrations were made by several engravers, most of whom we do not know by name, with Jan Luyken a notable exception to this rule.[32] At first sight, these illustrations seem to be conventional Bible illustrations, straightforward biblical scenes which were thematically connected to the Lord's Supper.[33] Some influence of the emblematic, Catholic tradition manifested itself in the layered composition of these illustrations (see Fig. 57). In the background of this particular print of the kneeling and praying David, we see a group of people seated at the Lord's Supper.

In the accompanying text, 'Danck-zegginge na het H. Avondmael' [Thanksgiving after the Lord's Supper], the praying speaker urges his soul to devote itself to God.[34] This speaker is to be identified as David,

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[31] See on the seventy-five unillustrated volumes Op 't Hof 2007: 241–275, esp. 253.

[32] The illustrations were similar in all editions. One of the illustrations was rendered in two variants, with either a group of believers or Jesus' disciples sitting at the Lord's Supper, as discussed in Schepers 2007: 46–62 and Schepers and Gelijns 2007: 64–70, esp. 68.

[33] The wedding in Cana (John 2:1–11) was related to the invitation to the Lord's Supper; the return of the prodigal son (Luke 11:15–34) to the repentance of the believer; Mary Magdalene's washing of Jesus' feet (Luke 7:36–50) to the humble attitude of the person partaking of the Lord's Supper; David's prayer (Psalm 103) to the thanks offered after the Lord's Supper; the meeting of Jesus and the Samaritan woman (John 4:1–42) to the quenching of thirst; and lessons taught by Jesus in the synagogue (John 6:52–71) to the grateful way of life required of the faithful.

[34] 'Bedenckt dit ziel. Wilt tonen//Hoe ghy nu zijt verlicht//En aen Godts heyl verplicht' [Ponder this, my soul: show that you are now enlightened and indebted to God's salvation], *'t Recht gebruyck van des Heeren Heyligen avondtmael*. Rotterdam:

Fig. 57 *'t Recht gebruyck van des Heeren Heyligen Avondtmael.* Rotterdam: G. v. Wyen, 1687, 105.

depicted with a speech bubble coming from his mouth with the words 'Looft den Heere myne ziele' [Praise the Lord, my soul]. The speech bubble, frequently used in religious as well as secular emblems, is an addition to the traditional depiction of the harp-playing David found on the title page of so many Dutch Psalm versifications printed before 1670 (see Fig. 58).

Although this engraving in *Het rechte gebruyck van des Heeren H. avondmael* is not based on any specific religious emblem, the depicted scene obviously incorporated some emblematic elements which were new to the existing iconographical tradition.

In conclusion, these fragmentary and scattered deviations from Dutch Reformed conventions marked a significant turn toward Catholic visual traditions in the 1670s.[35] The Dutch Reformed, who had been subjected to the most restrictive visual practices, were among the first to integrate the emblematic elements on a larger scale, albeit in a rather shallow manner. Restrictions still remained, as is evident from the 1680 reprint of the meditational poem *Buiten- eensaem huis-, somer- en winterleven* [Country life, in solitude at home, winter and summer] written by the Dutch Reformed minister Willem Sluiter and first published in 1668 with an unillustrated title page. In the 1680 reprint, the publisher Johannes Boekholt added a title engraving with a burning heart to indicate the volume's devotional purpose (see Fig. 59).

The title page also mentions other 'Figuuren' [Images] in the volume, but this announcement is scratched out in some copies of the book. If Boekholt planned to add more illustrations, did he hesitate because during Sluiter's lifetime none of his works had been illustrated?[36]

The publisher of the second edition of Jan Claesz Schaep's *Bloemtuyntje, bestaende in innerlycke bedenckingen, gelyckenissen, ofte exempelen* [Little Flower Garden, consisting of Meditations, Parables and Examples] appears to have acted upon some lingering reservation as he included this instruction in the back of the edition.

The 'losse Plaetjes' [separate prints] could be bound together with the texts should the buyers want this; if not, they could enjoy the volume as simply a collection of texts (see Fig. 60).

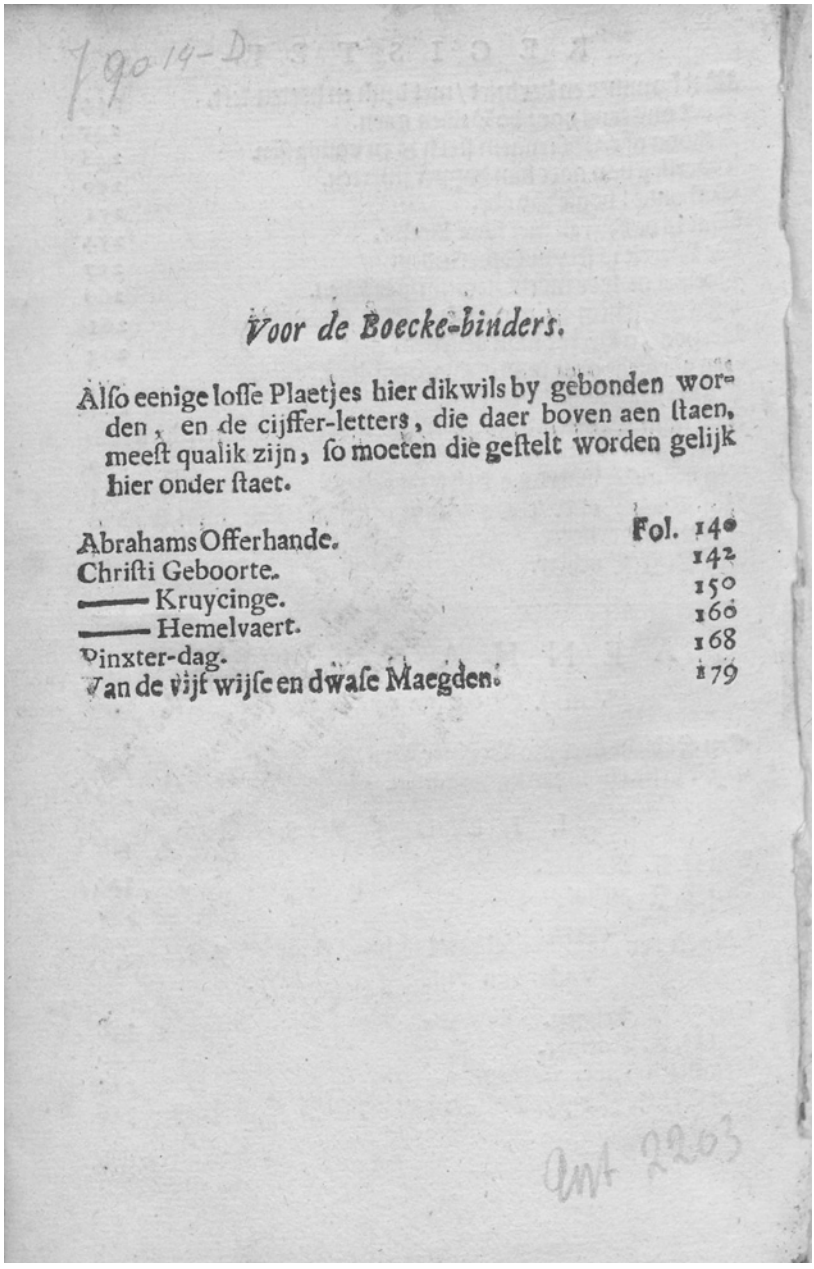
G. v. Wyen, 1687, 105. A similar scene showing the kneeling David with a speech bubble in front of an altar is found in *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, Dückers 2009.

[35] Other forms of Catholic-Protestant rapprochement among Dutch Reformed Pietists are discussed in Maan 2008: 476–494.

[36] The alteration of the title pages was first noted in Blokland 1965: 165 and 305–306.

Fig. 58 Title plate Jacob Westerbaen, *David's psalmen*. Den Haag: Antony Jansz. and Johannes Tongerloo, 1655.

Fig. 59 Willem Sluiter, *Buiten- eensaem huis-, somer- en winterleven*. Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1680.



Voor de Boecke-binders.

Alſo eenige loſſe Plaetjes hier dikwils by gebonden worden, en de cijffer-letters, die daer boven aen ſtaen, meeſt qualik zijn, ſo moeten die geſtelt worden gelijk hier onder ſtaet.

Abrahams Offerhande. Fol. 140
Chriſti Geboorte. 142
—— Kruycinge. 150
—— Hemelvaert. 160
Pinxter-dag. 168
Van de vijf wijſe en dwaſe Maegden. 179

Fig. 60 Instruction for the bookseller, Jan Claesz. Schaep, *Bloemtuyntje, bestaende in innerlycke bedenckingen, gelyckenissen, ofte exempelen; mitsgaders eenige sang-rymen*. Amsterdam: Jan Riewertsz., 1671, [320].

Such reservations continued to be fueled by polemical tracts, such as *Den Roomsche Uylenspiegel* [The Papist Owl's Mirror] published in 1671 by the Dutch Reformed minister Jacobus Lydius. Only its title page was illustrated, with a depiction of a monk staring into a mirror.

The monk's reflection in the mirror is an owl—in this case not the symbol of wisdom, but of stupidity (see Fig. 61).[37] The monk's glasses are on the table to point out that the monk himself is unaware of this reflection. Inside the book, Lydius generously quotes from various Catholic sources, turning them into absurdities. When discussing the use of religious imagery, Lydius maintains that the Dutch Protestants were wrong when assuming that 'there is no life in the statues, simply because they are made of wood, stone or other lifeless materials'.[38] On the contrary: an image of Mary sheltered Orléans from bullets when the city was besieged and a young monk who came to church every day to play with an image of the infant Jesus, seated on the lap of a statue of Mary, was given an apple on one of these days by the infant Jesus. Who would dare to conclude, on the basis of this evidence, that imagery should play no role in matters of religion? Lydius' tone is a little less stringent than Meusevoet's and Wilsenius' in the 1610s and 1640s, but the Dutch Reformed objections to religious imagery persisted.

Polemic Features of the Catholic Identity: Everard Meyster's De kruys-leer ter zaligheydt

The Protestant developments toward a more liberal attitude kept pace with changes in Catholic production between 1650 and 1680. The number of illustrated devotional works by Catholic authors—from various European countries—published in the Republic increased substantially. In 1657, the Jesuit priest Adriaan Poirters' *Het duyfken in de steen-rotse* [Little Dove in the Cleft of the Rock] was printed and sold by Melchert Janssen and Jacob van Meurs in Amsterdam, soon to be followed by another work of Poirters, *Het masker vande wereldt*

[37] This is a variant of a motif popular already in the Middle Ages: the mirror shows the unadorned truth and is thus well-suited for satire. See Lever 1983: 155. With thanks to Paula Koning, who brought this pictorial motif to my attention.

[38] 'in de Beelden geen leven en is, om datse van hout, en van steen zijn, of andere levenloose materie'. Lydius 1671: 448–449.

Fig. 61 Jacobus Lydius, *Den Roomschen Uylenspiegel oft lust-hof der Catholijcken: getrocken uyt verscheyden oude Roomsch-Catholijcke legendeboecken, ende andere schrijvers. Vermakelijck, ende stichtelijck om te lesen voor alle Catholijcke hertekens*. Dordrecht: Simon onder de Linde, 1671.

afgetrocken [The mask of the world pulled off], published in Amsterdam in 1659 by Philips van Eijck.

Also, a Dutch edition of Bolswert's *Duyfkens en Willemijnkens pelgrimagie* [Pilgrimage of little dove and little Willemina] was produced by Michiel de Groot in Amsterdam around 1660. Other publications by Southern Netherlandish Jesuits were to follow: an illustrated edition of Carlier's *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam […] christelycke spreucke vanden H. Ignatius de Loyola* [For the greater glory of God […] Christian proverbs by Ignatius de Loyola] was sold in Amsterdam by the widow of Joachim van Metelen in 1676.[39] Works by Dutch Catholic authors first produced in the Southern Netherlands also appeared in the Republic: a reprint of *Het gulden wieroock-vat* [The golden censer] by Philippus Rovenius, first published in Antwerp in 1636, became available in Utrecht in the bookstore of Arnold van den Eynden and Cornelis van Vechten in 1671.[40]

The assumption that Dutch Catholics from the 1650s onward no longer found it necessary to conceal their identity in disguised versions of the *Pia Desideria*, like Paets' *Vierighe meditatien* from 1631, becomes all the more plausible in light of the publication of Eduard Meyster's *De kruys-leer ter zaligheydt* [The Doctrine/Ladder of the Cross leading toward Salvation] in 1658. Meyster was an aristocrat from Amersfoort with an openly Catholic affiliation, and this confessional orientation is manifest in every detail of *De kruys-leer ter zaligheydt*.[41] The central element in all the *picturae* of this religious emblem book is the cross, a pictorial motif rarely used in Protestant illustrated religious literature at the time, but which also played a pivotal role in the title engraving of the 1657 edition of Poirters' *Het duyfken in de steen-rotse*:

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[39] Dutch Catholic hymnbooks, such as Cornelis Vermeulen's *'t Ronde jaer. Den schat der geestelijcke lofsangen, gemaect op elcken sonnendach van 't geheele rontloopende jaer*, remained without illustrations, most likely to conform with the unillustrated hymnbooks of other denominations. Many of these hymnbooks were still produced in the Southern Netherlands; see van Rossem 2008: 306–321, and Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 474–478, 481–482 and 676–678.

[40] From 1614 till 1651, Rovenius was the Vicar Apostolic of the Missio Hollandica. On Rovenius' efforts for the Dutch Catholic Church see van Eck 2003.

[41] Such openness did invite criticism, however. In an anonymous pamphlet dating from 1676, it is maintained that Meyster 'met Paus Jut soo vaeck boeleerde' [often flirted indecently with the ludicrous Pope], quoted in Hamer and Meulenkamp 1978: 72; and also 18 and 60–61. Meyster himself wrote about the resistance he encountered from Dutch Reformed ministers in *De gekroonde berymde policy: zijnde het eerste deel der Meysterlijke werken, bestaende in hemelsche, en aerdsche gedagten* [Crowned and Rhymed Politics: Being the First Part of the Masterly Works, consisting of heavenly and earthly ideas]. Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1668, fol. P4v and fol. P5r.

Fig. 62 Adriaan Poirters, *Het duyfken in de steen-rotse*. Amsterdam: Melchert Janssen and Jacob van Meurs, 1657.

To emphasize the importance of the cross, Meyster had little engraved crosses added to almost every line of the printed text.[42] Also outspokenly Catholic, and even Jesuit, is the signature under the volume's opening verse 'Ad majorem Dei Gloriam'[43], as well as numerous elements of the picturae, such as the portrait of Christ on the sail of a boat on its way to ''t Hemelsche Paleys' [The heavenly palace] immediately preceding the last section of text in the volume:[44]

The readers of the *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt* were invited to see themselves as present in this scene: 'God! Seal our ears, yea, bind us to the mast † of Your cross; so that no hellish monster can take our soul by surprise with the sweet sound of its endless kingdoms †, which he presents to be as lovely as they are false.'[45] The imagery is thus used by Meyster to 'kluyst'ren' [chain] the readers' thoughts to the search for God; it is meant to summon their memory, imagination and will, to make their souls turn toward God.[46] The soul itself is frequently presented as praying for God's help in this process: 'My God! May the shedding of Your blood † be the shield and shelter of my soul's blessed comfort'.[47]

The four *picturae* of Meyster's emblems as well as the title engraving of the *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt* are all based on the *Regia Via Crucis* of the Benedictine monk and theologian Benedictus van Haeften, first published in the Southern Netherlands in 1635 with the purpose of providing the reader with a solid understanding of the significance of the Stations of the Cross, and thus to inspire imitation of Christ's example.[48] In using van Haeften's imagery as a model, Meyster did not

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[42] On the role of the cross in Dutch Protestant religious literature see Stronks 2007: 88. On the role of the cross in Catholic iconography Knipping 1974: *passim*.

[43] Meyster 1658: fol. *2r.

[44] Meyster 1658: 92.

[45] 'Godt! stop ons' ooren toe, ja bindt ons aen den mast † uws *Kruys*; op dat geen helsch gedrocht ons ziel verrast door 't lieffelijck geluyt sijns eyndelose rijken †, dien hy in 't oog soo schoon, als valschelijck doet blijcken.'. Meyster 1658: 104–105.

[46] Meyster 1658: 93.

[47] 'Mijn Godt! Uw bloedt-vergieten † zy my tot scherm en schut mijns zael'ge zielsgenieting'. Meyster 1658: 14.

[48] Meyster's first image of the soul climbing a mountain is based on Liber 3, Caput 13, 388; the second one (a turnstile in front of a path covered with crosses) on Liber 1, Caput 1, 8; the third one (crossbow) on liber 2, caput 13, 220; the fourth one (ship with souls) on liber 3, caput 10, 370, in van Haeften 1635. See on van Haeften's imagery Imhof and Bowen 1997: 118–119. Van Haeften's volume was translated into Dutch in 1667 (nine years after Meyster's *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt* was published), under the title *De heyr-baene des cruys*.

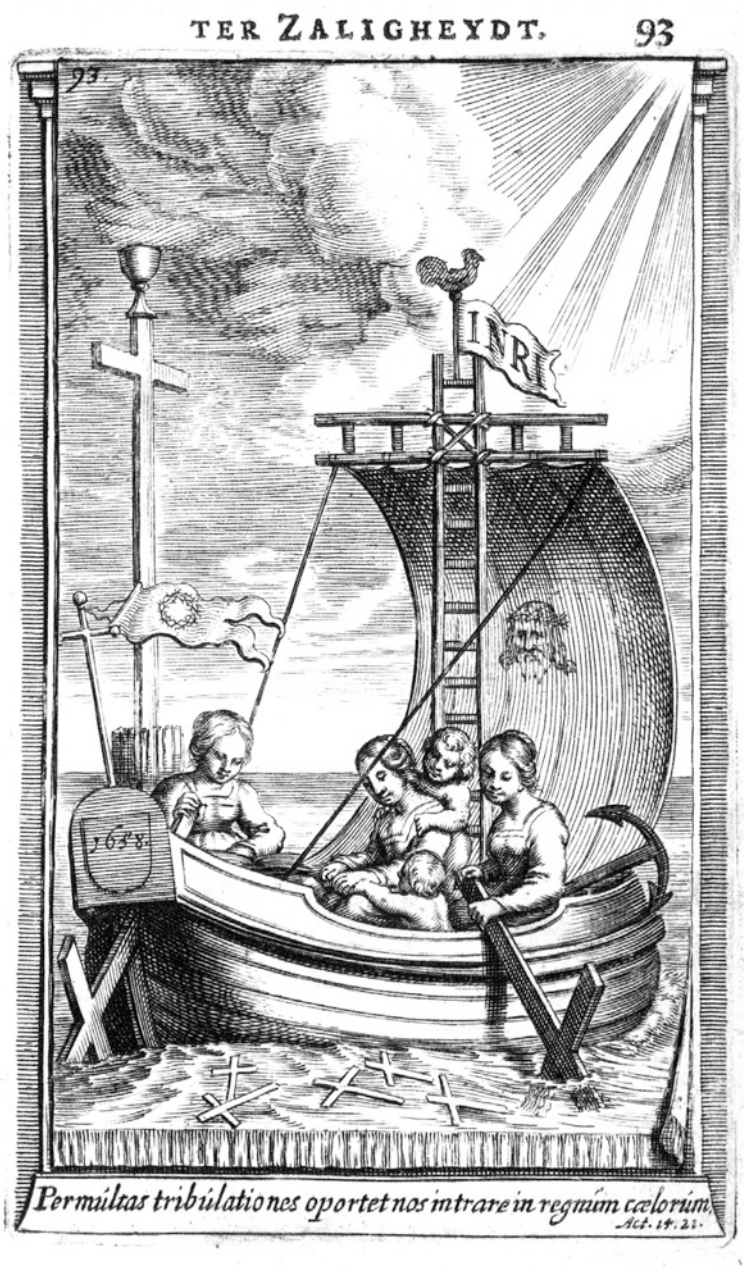

Fig. 63 Everard Meyster, *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt*. Amsterdam: Cornelis de Bruyn, 1658, 93.

remove the Catholic features of the original. On the contrary: there is no portrait of Jesus on the sail in van Haeften's engraving, nor does it have the word 'Jehovah' engraved in the shining sun which represents God on both title pages (see Fig. 64).

The emotional overtones of van Haeften's imagery are emphasized in Meyster's *picturae*: the crossbow depicted in *pictura* 3 is shooting a heart towards *amor divinus*, while van Haeften's *pictura* shows an arrow rather than a heart.

All of the crosses in van Haeften's images were replaced by ladders. The ambiguity of the volume's title is visually enhanced by this adaptation. Besides being a central motif in every *pictura*, the ladder is also a structuring principle for all the texts: each of the fifty-two weeks of the year has its own 'leer' [rung, but also teaching], and climbing those leads the soul toward God.[49] In its ascent, the soul is exhorted: 'Well, soul! Are you already tired after having climbed so little †, only halfway up *the ladder (doctrine) of salvation*? Ay, you must not fall asleep, not even for a little bit † keep climbing higher, and you will be freed from all burdens'.[50] And the schematic representation of the three steps Hope, Love and Faith which will lead the reader to heaven are also based on the image of a ladder.[51]

From the impressive number of preliminary poems contained in *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt* we can infer that Meyster thought it wise to seek the support of many authorities when he published these emblems. Among those authorities was 'Constanter', Constantijn Huygens, the Dutch Calvinist who moved in the same aristocratic circles as Meyster, and who occasionally visited Meyster on his travels.[52] The desired interconfessional ecumenism is underlined in a preliminary poem titled 'Aen de recht-sinnige Yveraers van het *Catholyck Geloof' [To the orthodox advocates of the *Catholic Faith]:

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[49] 'Betracht dees Sinne-beelden en haer *leer*,/Waer langs ghy klimmen kondt tot God den Heer' [Study these emblems and their *teaching*/Which you can use to climb toward God the Lord]. Meyster 1658: fol. *3v.

[50] Hoe ziel! Bent ghy alreê van 't weynigh klimmens moe †, die maer gekoomen zijt tot op de helft na toe *des Leer ter Zaligheydt*? Ey wilt hier niet vertucken † klimt opwaerts aen, u sal geen swarigheydt meer drucken.' Meyster 1658: 62.

[51] Meyster 1658: fol. **4v.

[52] See Meyster 1658: fol. *8r. See on the contacts between Meyster en Huygens, Hamer and Meulenkamp 1978, 57–58. Preliminary poems were also written by Volcker Koenraed, H. de Wit, Prudenter, David van der Meye, Theodorus Uchtman, Frans Snellinx, D. van W., Louis Lorée, Kornelis de Bruyn and I. de Rob.

370 REGIÆ VIÆ CRVCIS
Per multas tribulationes oportet nos intrare in regnum cælorum. Act. 14, 21.
Non timet Æolios ratis hęc, fera flamina, fratres:
CRVX malus, remus, CRVX cui clauus adest.

Fig. 64 Benedictus van Haeften, *Regia Via Crucis*. Coloniae: Joanne Carolus Munich, 1673, 370.

Be not deaf to good teaching;
Do not fight about faith.

Embrace the universal faith:
Don't be superstitious, hypocritical or sectarian,
And thus deprive God of His Honor;
Be a sincere, pious Christian instead:[53]

In spite of this seemingly irenic approach ('Catholic' was to be read as 'Roman Catholic'), the prosecutors of the Catholics are harshly judged in the following, unsigned preliminary poem 'Aen de domsinnige vervolgers en twistenaers van het Catholyck Geloof' [To the dim-witted prosecutors and antagonists of the Catholic faith]:

What gives you the right to censure people,
And with force oppose their faith?[54]

After this attack a more forgiving tone is struck in the next poem, unsigned but probably written by Meyster himself:

Neither wrangle over faith
Nor split hairs into four parts;
But let God's Spirit guide you.[55]

The polemic features of the volume are reinforced by a large fold-out print, engraved in the same style as the *picturae* and set in a similar ornamental framework. Depicted is a mountain, with groups of various denominations all trying to reach God's heaven by climbing a ladder.

A Catholic bishop, portrayed in the middle, is most successful in his attempt. A Jesuit, Cistercian and Capuchin monk are situated next to him. The people on the far left are furthest away from heaven: they are demolishing a Catholic church building. A group of naked people, Anabaptists, is moving away from heaven, and on the far right soldiers are busy demolishing people's ladders. Underneath the print an engraved text explains to the viewer that all this fighting keeps people

[53] Zijt voor goê leer niet doof;/Noch woel niet om 't geloof/Omhelst het *Algemeen Geloov':/Zijt geen † Be-god noch Sectarist//Waer door men Godt sijn eer ontroov';/Maer een oprechte vroome Christ:', in the margin: † Superstitieus. Meyster 1658: fol. **3r.

[54] 'Wat mooght ghy menschen disputeeren//En door bedwang 't Geloov verweeren?'. Meyster 1658: fol. **3v.

[55] 'Noch woelt niet om 't Geloof:/Noch klooft geen hayr aen vieren;/Maer laet Godts Geest u stieren'. Meyster 1658: fol. **4r.

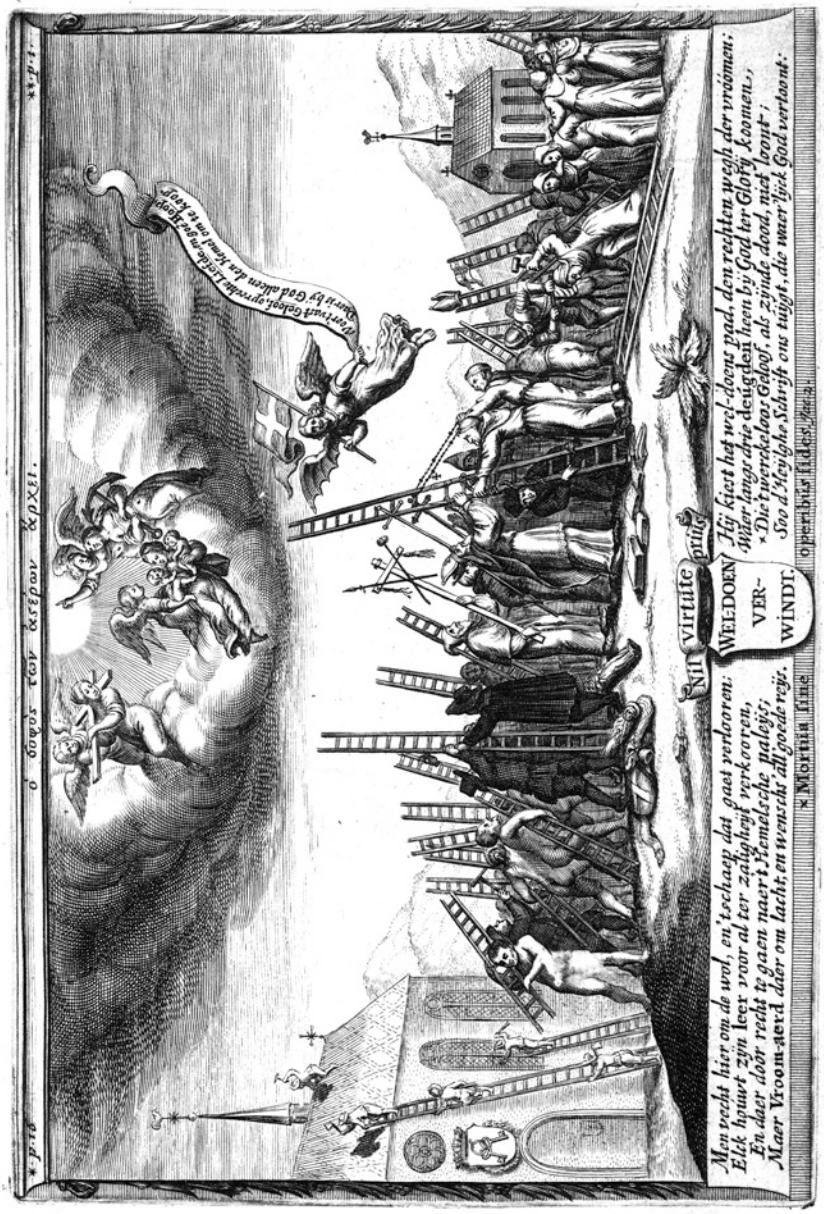
Nil virtute prius
WELDOEN
VER-
WINDT
Iy siet het wel-doent pad, den rechten wegh der vromen:
Wiltr lange dre deugden heen by God ter Glory koomen,
Die't werckeloos Geloof, als zynde dood, niet kont:
Soo d'Heylghe Schrift ons tuigt, als waerlyck God verhoont:
opperbiss Iddes Zeeta
Men vecht hier om de wol, en 't schaep, dat gaet verloren:
Elck houwt zyn Leer voor al ter zaligheyt verkoren,
En daer door recht te gaen naer't Hemelsche gelijt;
Maer Vroom-heyd doet om lucht, en wenscht all goede reys.
× Mortua fine

Fig. 65 Everard Meyster, *De kruysleer ter zaligheydt*. Amsterdam: Cornelis de Bruyn, 1658.

from entering heaven.[56] The depicted scene seems to convey the reality behind the peaceable message of the poem quoted above. In some of the remaining copies of the *De kruys-leer ter zaligheydt*, this print is absent. Since it was not originally part of a quire, but was glued onto one of the pages, it was semi-detachable and could easily be removed: was this manner of production chosen because of the polemic nature of the print?[57]

Meyster's *De kruys-leer ter zaligheydt* was never reprinted, nor was it referred to by other writers. Its importance should, however, not be evaluated solely in terms of the number of people who knew of its existence. Striking in comparison to earlier Catholic illustrated productions in the Republic is the outspoken, almost aggressive articulation of the Catholic identity. Word and image were fully integrated by Meyster to lend support to the reader's devotion as well as to the position of the Catholics in Dutch society.

Limits to the Protestants' Appropriation: François van Hoogstraten's Voorhof der zielen

For the time being, Meyster's Catholic alternative to the Protestant attitude toward religious imagery found little response in the Republic. Not only the Dutch Reformed kept the Catholic visual tradition at arm's length; other Protestants were equally wary. This is best seen in the case of the *Voorhof der ziele, behangen met leerzame prenten en zinnebeelden* [Temple of the Soul, Embellished with Edifying Prints and Emblems], written by the Anabaptist François van Hoogstraten in 1668.[58] Van Hoogstraten was the first to translate the mystical works

[56] Men vecht hier om de wol, en 't schaep dat gaet verlooren;/Elck houwt zijn leer voor al ter zaligheijt verkooren//En daer door recht te gaen naer 't Hemelsche paleys;/Maer Vroom-aerd daer om lacht, en wenscht' all' goede Reijs./Hij kiest het wel-doens pad, den rechten wegh der vroomen:/Waer langs drie deugden heen bij God ter Glorie koomen//Die 't werckeloos Geloof, als zijnde dood, niet loont//So d'Heijlghe Schrift ons tuijgt, die waer'lijck God vertoont. Meyster 1658: fold-out print following fol. I4r.

[57] Also, the print has 'p. 1' in the upper left corner, and 'p. 16' in the upper right corner, indicating that it might have been produced for some other purpose.

[58] The 'voorhof', or court, of Exodus 27:9 was the enclosed area in front of the tabernacle. In seventeenth-century Dutch, it is often used as a synonym for 'temple'. Van Hoogstraten—a bookseller himself—provided for the distribution of the *Voorhof der ziele*, which was printed by Hendrik van Puer. A second edition was published in 1698 by Engelbertus Solmans.

of the Spanish Franciscan Diego de Estella (e.g. his *De Contemnendis Mundi Vanitatibus*) into Dutch, and at first sight the Catholic traditions seem to have had a profound influence on his *Voorhof der ziele*.[59]

The title engraving, made by the young Romeyn de Hooghe, includes several elements of Catholic iconography. It depicts Jesus inviting a man—who holds a burning heart in his hand, offering it to Jesus—to accompany Him on the road to heaven. Behind Jesus, God is represented as a radiant triangle with the inscription 'Jahweh', and the Holy Spirit as a dove. At the lower end of this road, another man as well as a devil stare at Jesus; they look very frightened and are obviously not about to join Him. Underneath this scene is a quotation from Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*: 'Falsa tuens bona prius/Incipe colla jugo retrahere:/Vera dehinc animum subierint' [So must you too, who now have eyes//Only for false goods, first begin//To draw your neck from the yoke,//That then the truth may slip into your mind].[60]

The message contained in all of this is that the faithful should leave evil behind and concentrate on the good by preparing their heart for Jesus.[61] In this preparatory process, the emblems can play a vital role, according to van Hoogstraten in the preface to the *Voorhof der ziele*: 'one can, in my opinion, be edified […] by images and words, by sight and sound'.[62] One of the poets who wrote a preliminary verse to the *Voorhof der ziele* promises:

> Through images learn to discern
> The false appearance from the truth.[63]

Since the images themselves demonstrate the difference between truth and illusion, they become reliable means of attaining knowledge—a remarkable point of view in a Protestant context. The images in the *Voorhof der ziele* will, according to van Hoogstraten's brother Samuel in his preliminary poem, touch upon the 'mind, and heart' of the readers, showing them representations of 'everything that nature brings

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[59] He also had friends of various affiliations, such as the Dutch Reformed Heimen Dullaert, see Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 580

[60] Boethius 1973: 231.

[61] Zie ook van Putte 1978: volume I, 181.

[62] 'men kan aldus, mijns oordeels, door Beelden en woorden, door het gezicht en gehoor […] gesticht worden'. Van Hoogstraten 1668: fol. *3r.

[63] 'En leert door Beelden hoe de valsche schijn/Moet van de waerheit af gescheiden zijn'. Van Hoogstraten 1668: fol. **3r.

Fig. 66 Title page François van Hoogstraten, *Voorhof der ziele, behangen met leerzame prenten en zinnebeelden*. Rotterdam: François van Hoogstraten, 1668.

forth on earth'.[64] Van Hoogstraten's purpose was to embellish the temple of the soul with 'beeltenissen' [images], and to supply these images with interpretations based on the Bible and books of wise men.[65]

Catholic authors such as Thomas Aquinas were counted among these 'wise men'; quotations from their works often served as the starting point of van Hoogstraten's emblems, while the *picturae* showed scenes from daily life. Together these texts and images can be characterized as occasional meditations. In spite of some Catholic influences, van Hoogstraten created religious emblems which were typical for Dutch Protestants at the time, as he abstained from giving the images mystical interpretations—like those found in Estella's *De Contemnendis Mundi Vanitatibus*, for example. His aim was to instruct the reader about the vanity of the world rather than establish communication between God and the reader through the medium of these emblems.[66]

In emblem LI, for instance, 'Aensiet de vogelen des hemels' [Behold the fowls of the air], based on Mathew 6:26, the *pictura* depicts a stork—a common representation of piety in those days—snatching a frog from the earth, and flying toward heaven.

The reader is asked to identify with the stork in the accompanying text. One should free one's mind from all earthly concerns (represented by the captured frog):

> As long as the mind is bound and hampered by these concerns.
> It will find no pleasure in contemplation,
> Nor in prayers, which allow us to approach God,
> As an excess of concerns wearies the mind.
> The brain remains in a fog and darkened.
>
> Come then to where God's Presence shines,
> And prepare yourself for the call of His voice,
> Unchain your heart, which is held far too tight
> By so much estrangement and worry,
> Then you will rest like a lamb in the cool shade.[67]

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[64] 'geest, en 't hart'; 'Al wat natuur op aarde teelde'. Van Hoogstraten 1668: fol. **2v.

[65] 'Daer ik den Voorhof vast ging cieren voor de Ziel/Met beeltenissen, en haer telckens onderhiel/Met leeringen, uit Godts gewijde blaên getogen/Of wyze boecken, die zooveel op haar vermogen' [So as to embellish the temple of the soul/With images, to entertain the soul/With lessons drawn from God's sacred pages/Or books full of wisdom, which can greatly influence the soul]. Van Hoogstraten 1668: 164–165.

[66] See on this difference in traditions Raspa 1987: 104–110, esp. 106, and Kiefer Lewalski 1979: 111–144.

[67] 'Zoo lang de zorgen haer belemmeren en binden./De geest kan geenen smaek in 't overdencken vinden//Noch in het bidden, daer men Gode mee genaekt/Zoo hem

DER ZIELE. 163
Hun, om te leeren, tot de vogelen verzend.
Het was dan tijd, dat hier een Vogel wert geprent,
Een (a) Oyevaer, die met het aes, om laegh gevangen,
Niet blijft beneden; maer vol yvers en verlangen
Op zijne wiecken zich begeeft naer 't hooge neſt.
Nu wort de gene, die zijn hart en zinnen veſt
Op ydle zorgen, en, van bezigheên beſlommert,
Om zijnen nootdruft zoo geweldigh is bekommert,
Dat hy om laegh blijft, en niet eens naer boven ziet,
Genoodight, om zich uit dat noodeloos verdriet
Te redden, en in meer vermaek en ruſt te leven.
Hy ziet den Oyevaer gezwint ten Hemel ſtreven,
(a) No haze el æve en la tierra mas aſiento de lo que la neceſſidad le fuerça, y lo mas ordinario de ſu vivir es en el Cielo : Si quieres eſcaparte de los peligros de eſta vida, es meneſter huir de la tierra. Diego de Eſtella.
X 2
En

Fig. 67 François van Hoogstraten, *Voorhof der ziele, behangen met leerzame prenten en zinnebeelden*. Rotterdam: François van Hoogstraten, 1668, 163.

The promise of communication is there, but van Hoogstraten's emblems do not set out to facilitate the actual process of approaching God step by step.

As becomes obvious from the imagery in van Hoogstraten's *Voorhof der ziele*, representations of God's second book, nature, started to play an increasingly significant role in illustrated religious literature produced by Protestants outside the Dutch Reformed Church. Within the Dutch Reformed Church, the opposition Hulsius had encountered in the 1630s had apparently not completely vanished: no Dutch Reformed author pursued this tradition in or after the 1650s.

New Enemies: The Atheists

At the time van Hoogstraten's *Voorhof der ziele* was published, much more profound criticism of the idea that nature could be perceived as the visible representation of God's existence was articulated by Baruch Spinoza. Whereas the Dutch Reformed only opposed the use of images of nature—created by men, and thus imperfect representations of God's unique presence and creation—the philosopher Baruch Spinoza doubted God's role in the creation of the world, arguing that God and nature were identical.[68]

Spinoza's questioning of the very grounds on which the Christian meditative study of nature was based spurred the Catholic Vondel to write a treatise titled *Bespiegelingen van God en godsdienst* [Reflections on God and Religion] against 'ongodisten' [atheists] like Spinoza.[69] According to Vondel, human beings are 'te rijck begaeft' [too richly endowed] with the five senses, which enable them to feel, smell, taste, see and hear, to deny the distinction between God and His creation. The

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den overvloed der zorgen moede maekt./Ja 't brein leit met een damp benevelt en verdonkert./Wilt gy dan komen, daer Godts aengezichte flonkert//En u bereiden op den roep van zijne stem//Ontboeit uw' harte, dat te byster in de klem/Geraekt is, door zoo veel verwijderens en kommer/Zoo zult gy rusten als een lam in koele lommer'. Van Hoogstraten 1668: 166.

[68] See on this aspect of Spinoza's philosophy Nadler 2006: 52–84.

[69] As Thijs Weststeijn concluded: 'het streven om een dubbelzinnige iconografie te baseren op de afbeelding van een 'ogenschijnlijk' alledaagse werkelijkheid, verliest bij radicale denkers als Spinoza zijn ontologisch fundament' [the striving to base an ambiguous iconography on the depiction of an ostensibly ordinary reality lost its ontological foundation in the ideas of radical thinkers such as Spinoza], see Weststeijn 2005: Volume I, 294.

very existence of these senses proves that God has given us the means to see the connection between the invisible and the visible. Vondel also maintained, in line with the argument made by van Mander in his *Schilder-boeck*, that God's eminence can be deduced from nature, even though nature can never match the richness and complexity of its Creator, and representations of nature (works of art) are even further removed from perfection:[70]

> What foolish eye becomes infatuated with the painting
> Of the world, which discolors in the sun and smoke? […]
> God can dull the varnish of the world completely
> With the power of His radiance, glory and majesty.[71]

The point made here is that nothing in nature, and no human artifact—be it textual or visual—can grant eternal life and salvation, since only God has these powers. Even though their value should not be overestimated, Vondel maintained that visual and textual representations were useful instruments for teaching human beings about God's existence.[72] The third book of his own *Bespiegelingen van God en godsdienst* consists of an extended reflection on the world's beauty, and thus serves as an eloquent plea by example of the point Vondel wanted to make.

Throughout the treatise, Vondel emphasized the general Christian attitude rather than confessional views on the matter of the visibility of faith. The new threat of atheism perhaps required a repositioning of the various denominations towards solidarity rather than divisiveness.

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[70] As argued in Bakker 2005.

[71] 'Wat ydel oogh verhangt zich noch aen schildery/Der weerelt, die haer verf verschiet in zon, en smoocken?/[…]/De Godtheit kan 't vernis der weerelt gansch verschijnen//Door kracht van haeren glans, en eere, en majesteit'. Joost van den Vondel, *Bespiegelingen van God en godsdienst. Tegens d'ongodisten, verlochenaers der Godtheit of goddelijcke voorzienigheit*. Amsterdam: widow of Abraham de Wees, 1662. Quoted from Vondel 1930: volume 9, 579–580, line 622–629.

[72] Even though these means have their shortcomings: 'Geen letterkunstenaer, hoe taelrijck, hoe beslepen/Vint merck of woort, dat Godts volkomenheit verbeelt' [No literary artist, however gifted or skilful with language /Is able to find the sign or word to represent God's perfection]. Vondel 1662, quoted from Vondel 1930: volume 9, 579–580, line 138–139.

Religious Toleration and Religious Identities

A few years after the Peace of Munster, new opportunities arose for the Dutch Catholics, who were now articulating their own identity more clearly in publications such as Paets' picture Bibles and illustrated Bible, and in Meyster's candidly Catholic emblem collection. This new assertiveness was firmly based on Southern Netherlandish traditions and examples—the illustrated Bible, van Haeften's emblems, Dutch publications of Poirters' works—which up to that point had been of little significance in the Republic.

Along with this growing freedom for the Catholics came the opportunity for Protestants to appropriate elements of the Catholic traditions: Serrarius' adaptation of the *Pia Desideria* is the most profound, but also most eccentric instance of appropriation of a Catholic source. Much more common was the superficial form of appropriation shown on Dutch Reformed title pages. The degree of freedom exercised by Serrarius and by Meyster did not differ significantly: Protestant dissenters were granted equal rights with the Catholics.[73]

It seems that during the first quarter of the seventeenth century the Dutch Reformed Church felt a need to protect and maintain itself, and thus prevented other religious groups from manifesting themselves in the public sphere.[74] Between 1625 and 1650 the Dutch Reformed Church was much less dominant, resulting in the differentiation of the various denominations. An overt display of Catholic influences was apparently unacceptable during the entire first half of the seventeenth century, since the religious emblem—with its Catholic connotations—was completely absent from the literary mainstream. After 1650, the main, public church, several smaller Protestant movements, and the large minority of Catholics gradually repositioned themselves in a new equilibrium.[75]

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[73] In contrast with the argument made in van Eijnatten and van Lieburg 2006: 178, that Protestant dissenters had more freedom since the Catholic church was officially forbidden.

[74] See Kaplan 1991: 239–256.

[75] The authorities embarked on new politics for dealing with religious differences in society, as argued in Spaans 2003: 149–166; Pollmann 2006; Heimann 1999: 459–460.

PART THREE

TRANSFORMATIONS

CHAPTER SIX

APPROPRIATION, 1678–1725

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, a solid market had grown out of the widespread interest in picture Bibles in the Republic. In the 1680s, initiatives to develop the genre along new lines were undertaken by the Dutch Reformed, who had kept aloof from such innovations in the 1660s and 1670s. The reactions to these initiatives indicate that the Dutch Reformed were at first reluctant to give up their old, restricted practices. Around 1700, however, new freedom arose, allowing publishers to make some large-scale investments in new plates for their publications.

The most striking innovations of this period appear to have derived from one individual, the engraver and poet Jan Luyken, who single-handedly transformed some of the most persistent emblematic traditions. His activities were embedded, however, in a broader shift of opinion regarding the role of religious imagery in the Republic—a change indicative of the ongoing rapprochement between the various denominations.

New Plates for Picture Bibles

Almost all of the innovations brought to the genre of the picture Bible before 1700 required little investment on the part of the publishers since they were based on existing copperplates or woodcuts.[1] No extra costs were, for instance, involved in the introduction of emblematic and allegorical images in the genre in the 1650s and 1660s by the Anabaptists and Catholics: printers of those volumes reused van Sichem's woodcuts and van der Borcht's copperplates. At most, readers were offered new texts with the old plates, as in the *Afbeeldingen van de heylige historien zoo van het Oude als Nieuwe Testament* [Images of the Holy Stories of both the Old and the New Testament], published by Nicolaes Visscher in Amsterdam between 1684 and 1696:

[1] In some cases, publishers claimed to have used new copperplates, but on closer inspection these new plates proved to be new versions of older ones (made, for instance, when the originals were worn out). Such is the case in Justus Danckert's *Historiae Sacrae veteris et novi testamenti* (Amsterdam, 1689).

JOAN. XIX. 4. 5. 6. 99

Ziet den menſch.

Chriſtus dragende de doornen Croone, en Purperen mantel, wert aende Ioden vertoont: Ioann. 19. 5. 6. 99

Het deerlykſte en nutſte ſchouſpel.

Zie, menſch, der menſchen zoen, Godts zoon, der Joden koning,
Der menſchen guichelſpel, Godts wraak- en gunſtvertoning,
Voor 't menſchdom. Ziet den menſch, roept hier met luttel klem
Pilatus, maar met kracht d'aartsrechter door zyn ſtem.

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Fig. 68 *Afbeeldingen van de heylige historien zoo van het Oude als Nieuwe Testament.* Amsterdam: Nicolaes Visscher, between 1684–1696, 99.

A new feature was the more dramatic and sensitive tone of the texts written by the Dutch Reformed minister Joannes Vollenhove, but the illustrations were printed from older plates made by Merian and Schut.[2]

The publishers must have chosen this conservative approach because of the great financial risks involved: introducing genuine innovations in the Bible illustration could have far-reaching consequences, due to underlying theological issues and the lingering suspicion of the religious image among the Dutch Reformed. Even a slight change in the existing paradigm in which engravers and publishers operated—based on the consensus that Bible illustrations as well as the accompanying texts should be literal—could result in fierce controversies, as is apparent from the harsh criticism which the regional Synod of South Holland leveled at the Dutch Reformed minister Johannes Möller's *Sleutel, dewelke verklaard de bybelse figuuren oover de vier evangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen en Openbaaringe Johannis* [Key, which explains the Biblical Figures concerning the Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Revelation] in 1682.[3] The criticism focused on the 'aenstootelijcke, ergerlijcke en onstightelijcke figuuren' [offensive, detestable and unedifying images] in this picture Bible, for which new etchings had been made by Romeyn de Hooghe.[4] The Synod argued that 'this manner of instruction is in conflict with God's Holy Word, the confessions of this Church, and traditions of edification in Dutch Reformed Christianity'.[5]

Möller's reaction to this criticism in a letter to the Synod suggests that there were two basic problems. The first was that the images contained elements which were perceived as offensive. This was attributable to the engraver, Möller maintained, for without his knowledge, de Hooghe had added some allegorical figures and attributes too small to be noticed before publication of the *Sleutel*.[6] De Hooghe's dubious

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[2] See also van der Coelen 1998: 182.

[3] The German edition, written by Möller himself, was published a year prior to Möller's adaptation: *Erklärungs Schlüssel der biblischen Figuren, über die vier Evangelien, Feschichten der Apostelen und die Offenbarung Joannis*. Leiden: Felix Lopes, 1681, printed by the widow of Jacob de Jonge.

[4] Quoted in Knuttel 1915, 437–438.

[5] 'deselve manier van onderwijsinge aenloopt tegen Godes H. Woord, de belijdenisse deser kercken en de algemeene wijse van het Gereformeerde Christendom te stighten'. Knuttel 1915: 437–438.

[6] 'voornamentlick, omdat ons dit ongeluck heeft getroffen, dat door den plaetsnijder eenige dingen daerbij sijn gevoeght buyten ons weeten en opgeven, die den swacken aenstoot konnen geven, dewelcke oock voor het meerder gedeelte soo subtyl sijn, dat se waerlick onse oogen voorbij gelopen waren, waerover wij oock in den sleutel geen verklaringe hebben gedaen, en oock in generleye manieren konnen billicken, maer

reputation probably made matters worse.[7] A close examination of de Hooghe's engravings reveals very small representations of the Holy Spirit as a dove, and rebus-like representations of Christ bringing eternal grace to believers.

Since the plates, in keeping with the format of the book (duodecimo), were rather small to begin with, it is not implausible that Möller had indeed overlooked these apparently offensive elements. On the other hand, he must have been quite familiar with the plates, having used them the previous year for his own German edition. A copy of the *Sleutel* kept in the library of Amsterdam University (not the one shown here) reveals that precisely those pictorial elements were removed by at least one of the book's owners.[8]

The second problem was related to Möller's apparently improper use of the Bible illustrations. At the root of this problem were Möller's own views as expressed in the preface to the *Sleutel*. The images were added as memory aids, he maintained, for everyone should be well versed in the Bible, including little children.[9] Möller had often been told by members of his congregation how hard it was to remember what is said in the Bible: 'one would need an impeccable memory in order to learn all this without much difficulty and effort, and to remember it for a long time.'[10] This problem was usually solved by supplying readers with short, rhyming texts which were easy to memorize, but

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verwerpen moeten, en op staende voet soo haest wij deselve hebben gesien, uyt den druck uytgenomen en geen derselver voor het onse erkennen' [we were so unfortunate as to work with an engraver who added some things, without our knowledge, which could be offensive for weaker readers, which were for the most part so subtle that they escaped our notice, which we did not address in our text, and of which we can in no way approve, but must repudiate; and immediately, as soon as we saw them we took them out of print and acknowledge none of them as our own]. Quoted in Knuttel 1915: 437–438.

[7] A few years after the publication of the *Sleutel*, de Hooghe was accused of being a 'mocker of God and His Word' by the Amsterdam Dutch Reformed church council, see de Haas 2008: 16.

[8] See Leeflang 2008: 144–145.

[9] 'niemand is soo eenvoudig, wien Gods H. Woord te geleerd: en niemand soo geleerd, wien 't selve te slegt, en te eenvoudig sijn soude.' [No one is so simple-minded as to find God's Word too learned; and no one is so learned as to find it too plain and simple], Möller 1682: 5.

[10] 'die moest waarlijk een staale memoorije hebben, die dit alles sonder groote moeite, en arbeid souwde kunnen leeren, en lang in sijn gedagten behouden.' Möller 1682: 16–17.

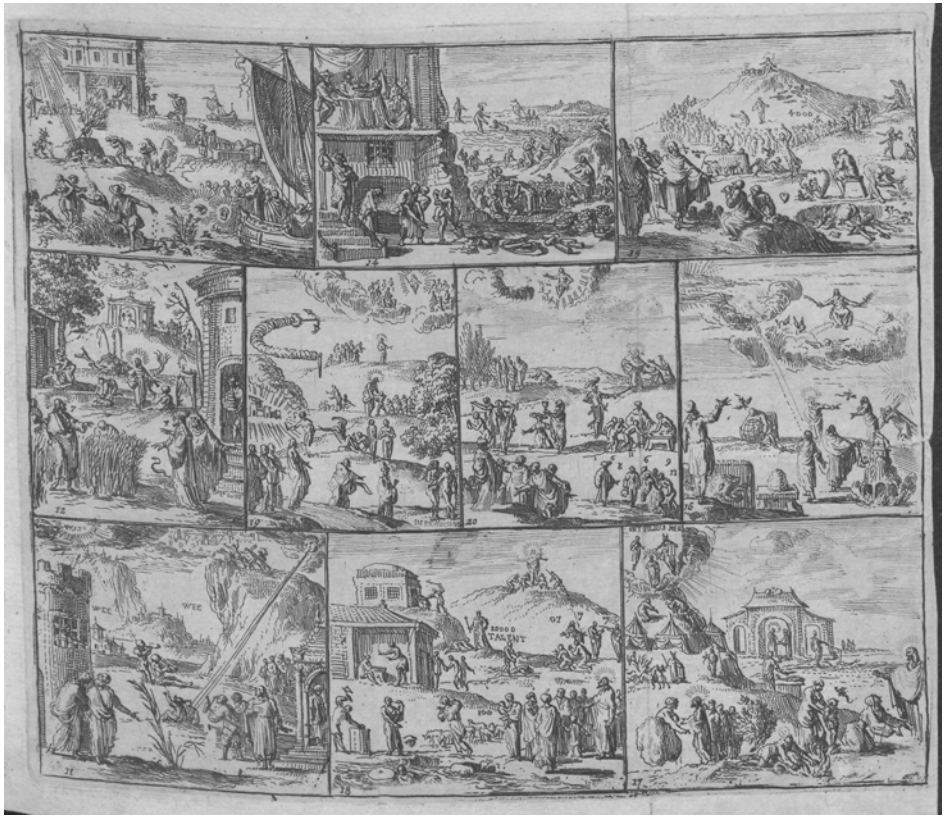

Fig. 69 Print 3 from Johannes Möller, *Sleutel, dewelke verklaard de bybelse figuuren oover de vier evangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen en Openbaaringe Johannis*. Leiden: Johannes de Vivie, 1682.

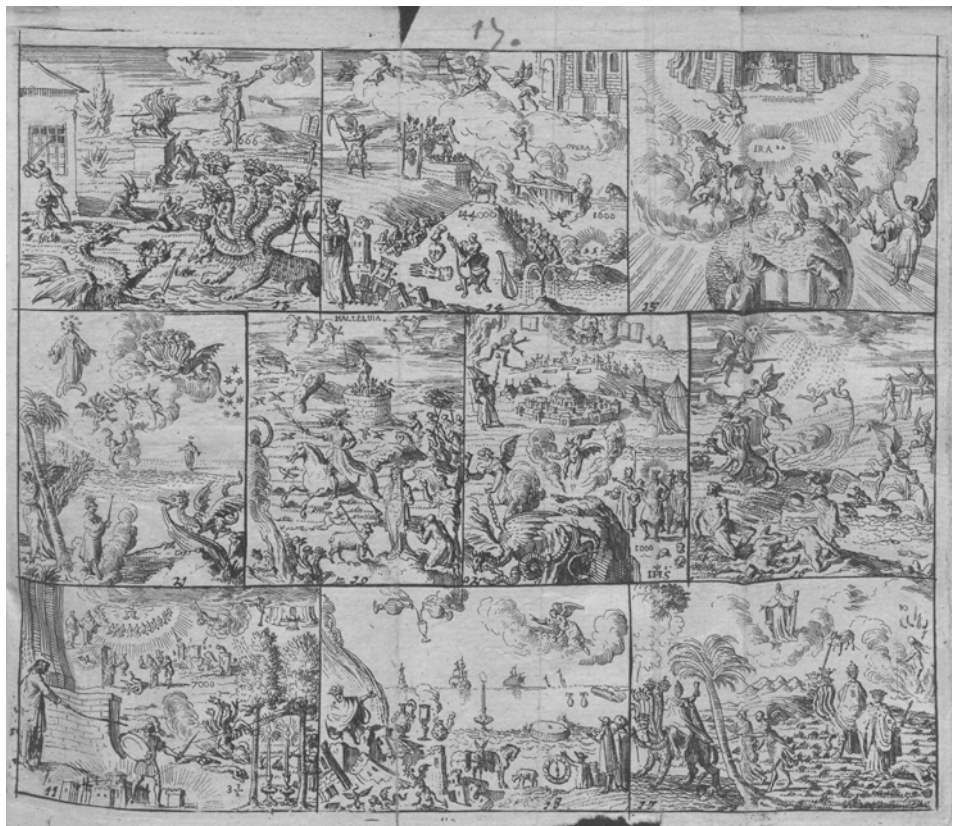

Fig. 70 Print 17 from Johannes Möller, *Sleutel, dewelke verklaard de bybelse figuuren oover de vier evangelisten, Handelingen der Apostelen en Openbaaringe Johannis*. Leiden: Johannes de Vivie, 1682.

Möller opted for a different solution, based on German picture Bibles he was acquainted with.[11]

Up to this point in his preface, Möller's argument stayed well within the Dutch Reformed conventions and practices regarding the use of religious imagery in picture Bibles. In what follows, he seems to have violated a cultural norm by arguing that imagery is an effective memory aid because the human mind is inclined to 'imagine everything that it encounters by means of certain images: if one speaks of a house, a horse, a city, a tower, the memory immediately absorbs these words […]; one will instantly conceive what is said in images'.[12] Since this is the case, one can even imagine what has not been seen with one's own eyes, just by reading about it: 'Letters and texts are nothing but images, which depict for us whatever they touch upon'.[13] 'Everything is full of images', Möller concluded, and these are best remembered by human beings because 'among the five senses, sight has the most powerful effect on the memory'.[14] This led to the ultimate conclusion that images are stronger than words: 'because humans can more clearly imprint upon their memory what they have seen with their own eyes than what they have been told in words'.[15] In accordance with this, Möller even launched a plea to bring illustrated Bibles to church. Boldly ignoring the difference between the use of religious imagery in sacred as opposed to secular spaces, he wrote: 'My plates could also be bound with copies of the New Testament that people take with them to church'.[16]

To show that he was aware of the sensibilities surrounding the issue, Möller defended his argument with a reference to the Dutch

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[11] Möller's publisher de Vivie did produce a separate volume titled *Kort bondige rijmen oover ijder capittel der vier euangelisten* [Short rhymes on each chapter of the four evangelists] by Adrianus Severinus, which was meant to be bound together with Möller's *Sleutel*.

[12] 'sig alles wat haar voorkomt, door seekere Beelden inbeeld, en voorsteld: spreekt men van een Huis, Paard, Stad, Toorn, etc. terstond neemt de memoorije die dingen aan: […] men sal 't sig terstond voor Beelden alsoo voorstellen'. Möller 1682: 24–25.

[13] 'Letteren en Schriften sijn anders niet als Beelden, welke ons de saake, die sij verhandelen, voor de oogen afschilderen'. Möller 1682: 26.

[14] 'Alles is vol Beelden'; 'onder de vijf sinnen nu is 't gesigt dat geene, dat het kragtigts op de memorije kan werken'. Möller 1682: 27.

[15] 'aangesien de mensche dat geene dat hij met sijn lichaamelijke oogen siet, veel klaarder sijne memorije kan inprenten, als 't geen hem met woorden beschreeven is'. Möller 1682: 28.

[16] 'Die wil, die kan ook deese Plaaten in sijn Nieuwen Testament, welk hij gemeenlijk in de Kerk met sig neemt, […] laaten invoegen'. Möller 1682: 39.

tradition of the picture Bible: 'even some of the Dutch […] Bibles [are] embellished with various maps and other images; also with depictions of some of the most remarkable biblical stories'.[17] He mentioned the work of engravers and publishers such as Merian, Schut and Visscher, and paid ample attention to the proper use of the plates in the *Sleutel*: Möller devoted five pages to an explanation of their sequence and their layout in relation to the texts they accompany.

Möller pleaded for the acceptance of a more substantial use of Bible illustrations by the Dutch Reformed, but was reprimanded by the Synod of South Holland because he allegedly 'favored the papacy with its worship of images, and undermined the instruction of the Heidelberg Catechism not to tolerate the use of images as books for lay people in church'.[18] Nothing could be further from the truth, according to Möller: the studying of his images was always to be combined with the reading of God's Word: 'If an image of the crucified Christ is shown to simple or lay persons, they are not able to receive from it any instruction about the kind of person Christ is, or about the cause and the purpose and the benefit of Christ's suffering; […] this kind of instruction can only be given by preaching the Gospel of salvation'.[19] Möller's defence was insufficient: he was ordered to show his remorse in an explanatory statement and include it in the next work he published.[20] This verdict was, however, withdrawn when the Synod realized that 'a new public statement would most likely arouse more curiosity than it would diminish the annoyance'. [21] Besides, Möller had decided to 'take all copies off the market at his own expense and to his own detriment, and, since not many copies were in circulation to begin with, the volume will soon be forgotten'. Möller had also prom-

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[17] 'selfs eenige van de Neederduitse […] Bijbels sijn met verscheidene Landkaarten, en andere Beelden; ook met afbeeldinge van eenige bijzondere geschiedenissen, versierd'. Möller 1682: 28–29.

[18] 'alsof wij met dit werck favoriseerden het Pausdom in haren beelden-dienst, als enerveerden wij de vrage in de Heydelbergschen Catechismus, dat beelden niet als boecken der leecken in de kercke mogen getoleert werden', quoted in Knuttel 1915: 437–438.

[19] 'Want genoomen eens, dat een leeck ofte eenvoudigh mensch getoont wert een gekruysten Christus, soo kan deselve daerdoor geen onderwysinge bekomen, wat Christus voor een persoon is, uyt wat oorsaeck ook, tot wat eynde, en welcken ten goede dese Christus geleden heeft; […] en welcke onderwijsige hem door geen ander middel kan gegeven worden, als door de predicatie van het zalighmakende Evangelium', quoted in Knuttel 1915: 437–438.

[20] Knuttel 1915: 481–484.

[21] 'een nieuwe publijcke verklaringe de curieusheyt van menschen wellicht meer soude opwecken, als de ergenisse wegh nemen', quoted in Knuttel 1915: 556.

ised not to make any further attempts to deal with theological issues in such a visual manner.[22]

This victory of the Synod, which resulted in a considerable loss for Möller and his publisher, reveals the constraints which seem to have kept publishers from investing in new plates for Dutch picture Bibles: when innovations aroused controversy, considerable financial losses could follow. Möller's publisher Johannes de Vivie had been in business for only a year when he published the *Sleutel*, and was perhaps too inexperienced to know how to stay within the lines of Dutch Reformed cultural sensibilities, and Möller's assessment of the situation was perhaps less than accurate as a result of his German background.[23] Möller was born in Frankfurt am Main in 1641, married a Dutch woman named Wilhelmina de Hulter in 1678, worked as a minister in Leiden from 1679 onward, and died there in 1710.[24] The *Sleutel* was in fact a Dutch translation—by an author known only as 'P.W.'—of a German edition, *Erklärungs-Schlüssel der Biblischen Figuren über die Vier Evangelisten* that Möller had written himself, and published in 1681 with Felix Lopes of Leiden. The *Erklärungs-Schlüssel* appears to have been based on the German tradition of the *ars memorativa*, more specifically on Johannes Buno's emblematic method, which derived from the interplay between emblematics and mnemonics. In Buno's *Bilder-Bibel*, first published in 1674, visualization techniques were propagated to enhance the study and memorization of the Bible. The composition of Buno's prints—recently characterized as a 'Fülle von Szenen' [profusion of scenes]—resembles the prints found in Möller's *Sleutel*.[25] Matters were perhaps further complicated by the reputation of Möller's first publisher, Lopes, who produced a number of volumes by Voetius' opponent in the Dutch Reformed Church, Johannes

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[22] 'den gehelen druck tot sijn kosten en schade in te trecken en op te halen, sulcks, dat alrede weynige exemplaren te vinden zijn, en het gehele werck uyt de werelt staet te geraken', quoted in Knuttel 1915: 556.

[23] Since the sixteenth century, illustrated Bibles and Bible illustrations were accepted as 'books for the laity', see for instance Staubach 2006: 3–27, and Chipps Smith 2007.

[24] Frankfurt was home to a group of very active Lutheran Pietists; see de Baar 2004: 265 and 337–339. Möller's contacts with Leiden must have dated from the 1660s, since he published *Beklaglicher doch seeliger Tod des […] Herrn, Hr. Samuel Althusius, […] beweinet am tage seiner Beerdigung den 16. October im Jahr 1669*, s.l.., on the occasion of the untimely death of Althusius, Dutch Reformed minister in Leiden in 1669.

[25] Quoted in Stoll 2007: 53. See on Buno's mnemonic and emblematic techniques Bauer 2005: 79–86, and Strasser 2007: 211–212.

Coccejus.[26] Möller thus sided with a group within the Dutch Reformed Church that did not represent a majority opinion on this issue.

Möller's attempt to turn the tide was obviously unsuccessful, but the next Dutch Reformed plea for renewal of the Bible illustration was received with greater enthusiasm. In 1685 the 'Verhandeling over de Heilige, ofte Bybelpoëzy' [Treatise on Holy, or Biblical Poetry] by the Dutch Reformed Laurens Bake appeared together with a collection of his religious poems in the *Bybelse gezangen* [Biblical hymns].[27] Bake's general purpose was to engage more excellent poets in the production of biblical poetry. His treatise was frequently referred to approvingly after 1690.[28] Bake maintained that: 'a Christian poet is not forbidden to play at times with emblems and similar poetical inventions, since we all know what is meant and understood by such figurative devices'.[29] A 'figurative manner of speech' can even elevate biblical poetry to the level of the 'sublimè' [sublime].[30] If we reject these means, Bake argued, the concept of biblical poetry will be endangered. The title page of the *Bybelse gezangen* showed the personification of religion, stalked by a group of soldiers and looking for help from an angel who is holding a harp while offering a goat to God.[31]

Bake's own versifications and prose explanations of biblical passages in the *Bybelse gezangen* served as an example to readers as well as authors: if rendered in this form, the Bible would keep or regain its superior position. The image proves to be an essential element of this biblical poetry, since all of Bake's texts are accompanied by engravings which show not just a single episode of the biblical story, but a

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[26] Lopes had also published Johannes Coccejus, *Heydelbergensis catechesis religionis christianæ ex S. Scriptura explicata* in 1671, as well as a treatise in defence of Coccejus, which positions him among followers of Coccejus rather than Voetius.

[27] See Stronks 1996: 297–302, and Bake 1685.

[28] Many of them seemed to think that 'de poëzy haare aanvalligheid verliest, wanneerze den Kristen Godtsdienst, ofte eenige bybelstof tot voorwerp heeft' [poetry loses its attractiveness when its subject is the Christian faith or the Bible]. Bake 1721: fol. A1r.

[29] 'dat het mitsdien den Kristendichter niet tenemaal ongeoorloft is somtyds met zinnebeelden en diergelyke poëetische vonden te speelen; dewyl men weet wat met zulke figuurlyke voorstellingen gemeint en verstaan werdt'. Bake 1721: fol. A4r. Quoted from the third and unchanged edition.

[30] 'figuurelyke maniere van spreeken', Bake 1721: fol. B3r

[31] A new copperplate was made for the 1708 and 1721 reprint of Bake's *Bybelsche gezangen*. These new plates depicted the same scene, but Religion's breast is now covered and the group of soldiers is more prominently portrayed.

complex representation of various events or elements in the narrative: 'The designer of this plate has tried to capture in one scene all of the horrors described by the prophet Jeremiah in his five lamentations, with the purpose, perhaps, of showing that Jerusalem endured all of the miseries depicted here at one and the same time (see Fig. 71).'[32]

As if to assure himself that readers would understand all aspects of the depicted scene, Bake discusses every detail of the print in an explanatory text, also touching on the delicate issue of image versus word, as he writes: 'The air is filled with smoke and fire, and seems to shroud the sight with a thick vapor, as if out of compassion it would cover, if possible, this horrific tragedy with a curtain, but in vain, since the prophet has portrayed in his lamentations all the disasters that so violently struck this unfortunate [city] with so much more power than any tableau, or any play enacted in the theatre.'[33] Without detracting from the superiority of the Bible as written Word, the Bible illustration is valued for its own merits. Imagery was becoming an increasingly important element of religious poetry, even for the Dutch Reformed, as new ways were found to combine literary and visual material.

The new Bible illustrations of Bake's *Bybelsche gezangen* were designed and engraved by Jan Lamsvelt, who had little or no experience in the biblical genre. Departures from the genre's usual approach were thus inevitable, but Lamsvelt's designs were not criticized—an indication of a gradual change of attitude among the Dutch Reformed.

New Productions

This gradual shift among the Dutch Reformed seems to have been a prerequisite for the development and diversification of the production of picture Bibles in the Republic around 1700. Various sets of new

[32] 'De tekenaar, wiens geest en hand dit tafereel ontwierp, heeft al het afgryselyke, 't welk de Profeet Jeremias in zyne vyf klagtsangen beschryft, in deze eene print willen afbeelden, misschien om daar mee te beteikenen, dat Jerusalem alle d'elenden, die alhier vertoont werden, op een en zelvden tyd uitgestaan heeft.'. Bake 1721: fol. C4r

[33] 'De lucht alom met rook en vlam vervuld, schynt met een dikken damp 't gezicht te benevelen, om waar 't mogelyk, uit mededoogen een gordyn voor dit schrikkelyk treurtoonneel te schuiven; doch te vergeefs, dewyle de profeet alle de rampen, die deeze ellendige zoo hevig troffen, in zyne jammerklagten veel krachtiger heeft uitgebeeld, dan of men die in eenig tafereel ofte op een Schouwburg naar het leven vertoonde.'. Bake 1721: fol. C4v.

Fig. 71 Engraving from Laurens Bake, *Bybelsche gezangen*. Amsterdam: Pieter Visscher and Jan van Heekeren, 1721, facing fol. C4v.

plates by Protestant engravers such as de Hooghe, Jan Luyken and Bernard Picart were commissioned by publishers and used in editions of various forms and sizes.[34] Woodcuts appeared in which several scenes from biblical stories were depicted on a single page, captioned with short texts summarizing the story.[35] These initiatives led to a blossoming of the genre in the eighteenth century, as the sixteenth and seventeenth-century illustrations were slowly supplemented with more modern and contemporary representations of biblical scenes.[36]

In the midst of these innovations, one attempt at renewal would remain without success: the Anabaptist publisher Izaäk Enschedé, who tried to revive interest in Hiël's spiritual reading of the Bible by producing yet another edition based on Hiël's texts and van der Borcht's plates, drew no response.[37] In Enschedé's *Bybelsche figuren*, Hiël's original preface was fully translated into Dutch in a last effort to convince Dutch readers of the significance of Hiël's ideas. By viewing and studying the images, Enschedé promises, the reader will direct his attention to 'den wezentlijken Geest in zig zelven' [the essential Spirit within himself].[38] Readers had to realize that God especially created images to let the Spirit enter into them and bring about their rebirth; they should therefore concentrate on the spiritual interpretation of the images in this volume, and on their revitalizing effects.[39] All that is shown should not be interpreted with one's mind, but with one's heart:

> We therefore exhort the reader to contemplate these images in the innermost recesses of his heart. [40]

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[34] Picart's work and affiliation were recently discussed in Picart 2010.

[35] Such as the *Bybelsche figuren van het Oude Testament*. Amsterdam: erven Gysbert de Groot, 1719 and 1724.

[36] Van der Coelen 1998: 151

[37] The idea of reproducing the *Bybelsche figuren* Enschedé might have derived from his cooperation with Michiel Vinke, who from the 1680s onward worked on an edition of some of Hiël's texts, as well as on a collected volume of spiritual tracts, titled *De zilvere arke*, containing pieces by David Joris, Jacob Böhme, Dirck V. Coornhert, Dirck R. Camphuysen, Eva Vliegen, Antoinette Bourgignon, Hermes Trismegistus, Menno Simons, Sebastian Franck and Hendrick Niclaes, together with excerpts from Luther and Calvin, which needed to be read with 'inwendige oogen' [inner eyes], Vinke 1723: 52. See also Visser 1996: 11.

[38] *Bybelsche figuren* 1717: fol. *2r–v.

[39] *Bybelsche figuren* 1717: fol. *2v.

[40] 'Daarom wy den Leezer vermaanen [….] dat hy deeze Figuuren, in hare aanwijzingen, een nazien wil geeven in 't inwendigste herte sijns gemoeds. *Bybelsche figuren* 1717: fol. *3v.

However hard Enschedé as a publisher tried to propagate this vision in the Republic, he did not succeed. Hiël's work was never reprinted, and the spiritual way of reading the Bible enhanced with imagery would never gain ground in the eighteenth-century Republic.

We can conclude that the innovations brought to the genre of the Bible illustration around 1700 were restricted to seemingly insignificant changes in pictorial material, which were not, however, simple modernizations: they were in fact a radical departure from the existing tradition, considering that the old plates had been used—by common consent—for several decades or longer. The immediate and unfavorable response to de Hooghe's first attempt to renew the genre in Möller's *Sleutel* reveals the delicacy of the issue and shows that the Dutch Reformed still thought it necessary to safeguard imagery so closely related to the Bible itself against too many liberties. The failed re-introduction of Hiël's more liberal approach to the biblical image supports the conclusion that the Bible illustration continued to be a rather conservative genre, one which could be easily shared among at least all Protestant denominations. Catholics were apparently no longer involved in this production, since the new engravers as well as almost all of the publishers were Protestants.

Protestant Applications of Allegorical, Emblematic Imagery

While the developments within the genre of the biblical illustration are best described in terms of continuation and gradual innovation, a more revolutionary shift occurred in the application of allegorical, emblematic imagery. Between 1653 and 1678, the Catholic use of this type of imagery had not been fully or widely adopted in the Republic. A radical change in this situation was brought about by Jan Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel*, the first Dutch Protestant religious emblem book thoroughly modeled on the Catholic example. Luyken's novelty was embedded in broader developments, which began in the 1650s and 1660s with the introduction of elements of Catholic iconography in Protestant title-page engravings. In contrast to what was done in these earlier publications, Luyken adopted much more than just the iconography of the Catholics; he set a new standard for Dutch illustrated religious literature which was based on the hybridization of Protestant and Catholic visual practices.[41]

[41] Terminology used in Burke 2009.

A New Direction for the Protestant Emblem: Jan Luyken

The most innovative aspect of *Jesus en de ziel*, seen in its Dutch context, was Luyken's decision to enhance his contemplative texts with images to support the process of experiencing greater love and intimacy with God.[42] *Jesus en de ziel,* which consists of three sections with thirteen emblems each, explores the developing relationship between the soul and her bridegroom. The emblems in part I cover the journey of the soul who leaves the World behind in her search for God. On her journey in Part II, the soul encounters all kinds of difficulties: her own weaknesses, as well as devilish figures. She is supported and encouraged by Jesus' presence. In part III, the accent on the pilgrimage motif is replaced by an emphasis on the Song of Songs. In this section, both the texts and the *picturae* suggest the possible union between the soul and Jesus.

It would be oversimplified to assume that Catholic emblematics alone determined the composition of Luykens' emblems: *Jesus en de ziel* is best described as an eclectic and inventive combination of influences from the mystical ideas of the German Pietist Jacob Böhme, the Dutch Anabaptists' focus on the pilgrimage motif, the English Puritans' extensive use of the Songs of Songs, as well as the emblematic tradition of the Southern Netherlands. The emblems can be seen as the reflection of Luyken's complex and shifting affiliation.[43]

Even though in *Jesus en de ziel* many sources became intertwined, it is fair to say that it was in the tradition of the Catholic love emblem that Luyken found the inspiration for his imagery, since he modeled about two-thirds of his images—which he himself

[42] See Verduin 1992, and also Stronks 2009c.

[43] Luyken was a prolific poet and engraver, working in Amsterdam, but influential far beyond this city's borders, as the national and international popularity of his work testifies. His parents were Remonstrants, but Luyken himself sympathized with the Anabaptists, while his works display the influence of the German Jacob Böhme and the English Piëtist John Bunyan, as well as of Dutch Anabaptists such as Pieter Rixtel, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church such as Johannes Boekholt. Luyken's indebtedness to Böhme is analyzed in detail in Vekeman 1984b: 223–232 and Vekeman 1984a; Luyken's Dutch Reformed features are emphasized in van 't Veld 2000. Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 856–870 give a useful overview of the existing research.

engraved—on *picturae* from Vaenius' *Amorum Divini Emblemata,* Hugo's *Pia Desideria* and van Haeften's *Regia Via Crucis*.[44] The fact that his work is firmly embedded within the existing emblematic tradition is acknowledged by Luyken himself in the preface to *Jesus en de ziel*: 'No one who enters the garden of these emblems should think that all these little flowers grew from our own soil.'[45]

The connection with Hugo's *Pia Desideria* in particular is instantly recognizable on the frontispiece, an adaptation of the *pictura* and *motto* of Hugo's emblem number twenty-three ('Treckt mij, wij sullen u na lopen' [Draw me, we will run after thee] (Song of Songs 1: 4) (see Fig. 73).

The depicted scene is evidently modeled on Hugo's emblem: the placing of two figures on a tree-lined path, the fact that the second figure is being pulled on a kind of leash by the first, the two intertwined trees and the reference to the Song of Songs are all aspects which Luyken adopted from Hugo for the opening statement of his book. Luyken also made some changes: he positioned the human soul on the left of the figure of Jesus, probably because he etched using Hugo's examples, which resulted in mirror images. But the change can also have a deeper significance: the positioning of the two figures could refer to the custom of portraying married couples with the woman on the left and the man on the right.[46]

This change formed part of a much larger shift in perspective accomplished by Luyken in *Jesus en de ziel*.[47] In the emblems of Vaenius and Hugo, the comparison between the search for God and the quest of the bride for her bridegroom in the Song of Songs had also formed the central theme, but *amor divinus* was portrayed as a childlike figure in both emblem collections. Luyken, on the other hand, depicted both the

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[44] The marriage between God and the believer was also the central idea in Jacob Böhme's teachings, as argued in Vekeman 1984a and b; Böhme himself did not employ imagery to effectuate his goals, but his posthumuously published works were often published in illustrated editions if rendered in German. One of the few illustrated editions in Dutch was published in 1642 by Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, titled Jacob Böhme, *Het vierde boeck des autheurs. handelende van 40. vragen over de siele*. See for a detailed overview of 'Böhme's Bilder' Geissmar 1993. See for a more detailed comparison of Hugo's, Vaenius' and Luyken's imagery Stronks 2007.

[45] 'Niemant, die in het Hof dezer Sinnebeelden komt, dencke, dat al dese Bloempjes uyt onze eygen Grondt gewassen zijn.'. Luyken 1685: fol. A3r. Quoted is the third edition with an unchanged preface.

[46] Among others, see Rödter 1992: 37–38.

[47] See de Reuver 2007: 60.

Fig. 72 Title page Jan Luyken, *Jesus en de ziel*. Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz., 1685, fol. A3r.

Fig. 73 'Trahe me, post te', pictura 23, Herman Hugo, *Pia Desideria.* Antwerp: Hendrick Aertssens, 1624, fol. M8v.

soul and her partner as adults.[48] Only the halo around Jesus' head—a symbol of the holiness of the portrayed figure, which in Luyken's day had fallen into desuetude—is a reminder of Vaenius and Hugo.[49] By opting for the representation of Jesus as an adult, Luyken gave concrete visual form to the image of the mystical marriage between Christ and the believer. The object of the soul's search—God—needed to be depicted in a serious manner; hence Luyken's choice to portray *amor divinus* as an adult, which required some explanation, as given in the preface of the *Jesus en de ziel*:

> In this rose garden, you generally see JESUS and the SOUL depicted in the illustrations; but the viewer, while reading (when there is mention of the Eternal Divinity), should never imagine that we, with this illustration, mean anything other than a physical portrayal of the humanity of Christ, in his assumed form of a Servant, as he walked here on Earth, among us human beings, visible and tangible for our outer Eyes and Hands. For his eternal Divinity may not and cannot be depicted.[50]

Luyken gave explicit instructions by which he guided the reader to the correct interpretation of the *picturae* in his emblems. Although Luyken strove to represent Jesus in his human nature, and thus as a physical being, so as to visualize the marriage between him and the soul in a convincing and visible manner, there were limits to what he felt he could

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[48] Luyken was not the first emblematist to portray Jesus and the soul as adults. The *Amoris Divini et Humani Antipathia*, a volume containing religious emblems by several (unknown) authors which first appeared in Brussels in 1626, and which would be reprinted with numerous adaptations in the years to come, includes some *picturae* with an adult Jesus and adult soul. However, these were random occurrences: they were not based on the conscious and consistently implemented idea to present Jesus and the soul as the two lovers from the Song of Songs. The depiction of Jesus as a human figure has been the topic of considerable discussion, but the appearance of the *adult* Jesus has so far not been addressed. See Praz 1975: 167; Buschhoff 2004: 175 and 178, and Rödter 1992: 17, 98–99, and 135.

[49] See van 't Veld 2000: 352. See on the Catholic use of the halo Hall and Uhr 1985: 567–603.

[50] 'In dezen Rozen-Hof siet gy meest doorgaans JESUS en de ZIEL; in prent uytgebeelt, maar den beschouwer, moet sich onder 't leesen (wanneerder van de Ewige Godtheyt gesproken wordt) nooyt verbeelden dat wy met dese prentverbeelding iets anders meenen als alleen der corporlyke beeldelijke Menscheyt Christi, in zijne aangenomen Knechtelijke gestalte, soo als hy hier op Aarden, by ons Menschen, heeft gewandelt, sichtelijk en tastelijk, voor de uyterlijke Oogen en Handen. Want naa zyn Ewige Godtheyt en magh noch kan hy niet uytgebeelt worden.'. Luyken 1685: fol. A3v.

and could not do.[51] These limits were set by old, but apparently not outdated theological controversies concerning the question of whether anthropomorphic depictions of God or Jesus were permissible.

Another potentially controversial aspect of Luyken's work was that he represented central tenets of the Christian faith in images. The subtitle of *Jesus en de ziel*, *Een geestelycke spiegel voor 't gemoed* [A Spiritual Mirror for the Heart], indicates that Luyken's text as well as images should be considered means for introspection, leading to a better understanding of the spiritual. Research by Arie Gelderblom has shown that in Luyken's emblems, realistic representations as well as reflections of the reader's own inner world invite the reader to contemplate the eternal, the divine in order to achieve union with God.[52] Karel Porteman has suggested that in Luyken's work, man and nature are not a reflection of the divine, but rather form a part of divinity. Studying them can lead to a keener feeling of God's presence.[53] In the third emblem of *Jesus en de ziel*, this line of thought is presented by Luyken in Böhmist terms: 'This visible world is just an external birth of the inner world; everything that we see here is also inherent in the invisible'.[54] Luyken strove to encourage the reader to use the visible world as a stimulus for his or her own spiritual journey, even more so than Schabaelje had done. Not only the image of a pilgrim seeking his way in a landscape can represent the spiritual journey to be made by the believer; every image of nature and the daily life can mobilize the eyes and stimulate meditation. That this was Luyken's point of departure is clearly explained in *Jesus en de ziel*, but never

[51] This accent on marriage pervades the entire volume. Not only in the scene depicted on the title page, but also in the 'Voor-zangh' [Introductory hymn] of *Jesus en de ziel*, is the soul urged to see its relationship with Jesus as a marriage: 'Your bridegroom, the finest one alive/call to him, [who stands] with his arms wide open'. ['Uw Bruydegom, de schoonste die daar leeft//Roept u tot hem, met bey zijn armen open']. Luyken 1685: fol. A4r. In 1685, Luyken wrote a prose addition to the last emblem of *Jesus en de ziel*, titled 'Van 't Ewige Vaderlandt; en desselfs vreugde' [Of the Eternal Fatherland; and its bliss], in which the 'mysterio' [mystery] of the creation of mankind in God's image and likeness, and the communion with heaven is emphasized even more strongly.

[52] See Gelderblom 2000: 18–35.

[53] See Porteman 1992b: 179–196, esp. 191–196. Porteman ascribed this vision to Böhme's influence on Luyken. However, this was later contested in van 't Veld 2000: 467–468. Van 't Veld claims that Luyken used Böhmist terminology, but did not come to a systematic representation of Böhme's body of thought. Instead, van 't Veld positioned Luyken in the Dutch Reformed pietistic tradition.

[54] 'Dese sichtbare werelt is niet anders als een uytgeboorte van de inwendige werelt; al wat wy hier sien dat is ook inwendig in 't onsichtbare.'. Luyken 1685: 20.

in a defensive manner. Unlike depictions of Jesus, this matter did not require any special attention.

Since, in Luyken's view, earthly and human beauty offers a glimpse of God's eternal beauty, visual representations such as engravings or paintings can—even though they are earthly products—be used in religious instruction. This idea is most clearly expressed in the emblem 'The painter', published in one of his later emblem books, titled *Spiegel van het menselyke bedrijf* [Mirror of Human Trades] (1694) (see Fig. 74). Art, as Luyken maintains in this emblem, is capable of making the eternal visible. A painting can be read like nature, as a depiction of 'Het Weesen' [The Essence]. But a warning is included in this emblem: the artist shown in the *pictura* is painting a preliminary study of a scene—depicted in the tradition of the *trompe d'oeuil* as a curled piece of paper in the upper left corner of the painting—quite different from the one suggested by the view outside the studio. If he finishes the piece, this aspect will be lost on an unwitting admirer of the painting. A person seeing the completed picture will very likely conclude that the painter captured the actual view from the window. Nothing could be further from the truth, for as the motto warns: 'Nothing that the eye sees is the principal, original thing':

> The Painter
> All that the eye sees is still not the principal thing
>
> Art presents us with a semblance
> Of how things are in essence,
> As the large painting
> Of the Totality of visible things,
> Assigned their place by wisdom,
> Reveals the origin of all that is.[55]

It is precisely the tension between appearance (semblance) and reality that Luyken exploits in his emblems in order to intrigue readers and to teach them about God's essence. The *picturae* of his religious emblem books very often depict scenes from daily life, challenging the readers to see beyond the obvious. Luyken clearly understood the Dutch preference for this kind of imagery found in so many secular

[55] 'De SCHILDER./Al wat 't oog besiet, Is 't prinsipaal noch niet./De konst stelt ons een schyn te vooren//Hoe 't in het wezen staat beschooren//Gelijk de groote schildery/ Van 't Al der zienelyke dingen//Die door de wysheid stand ontfingen//Vertoont wat in den oorsprong zy.'. Luyken 1749, 169.

MENSELYK BEDRYF. 169
DE SCHILDER.
Al wat het oog beziet, Is 't prinſipaal noch niet.
De konſt ſtelt ons een ſchyn te vooren,
Hoe 't in het wezen ſtaat beſchooren,
Gelyk de groote ſchildery
Van 't Al der zienelyke dingen,
Die door de wysheid ſtand ontfingen,
Vertoont wat in den oorſprong zy.
M
R o-

Fig. 74 pictura 'De Schilder', Jan Luyken, *Spiegel van het menselyk bedryf, vertoonende honderd verscheiden ambachten, konstig afgebeeld, en met godlyke spreuken en stichtelyke verzen verrykt*. Amsterdam: Jan Roman de Jonge, 1749, 169.

seventeenth-century emblem books and employed it in a new and religious manner.

Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* as well as his later religious emblems thus testify to the merging of Protestant and Catholic visual practices, which had grown closer in the 1650s and 1660s but were never fused as completely as in Luyken's emblems. The rigorous restrictions once faced by Protestant authors had eased, and new conventions for the application of devotional imagery in religious works were in the process of being established as Protestants reshaped identities by adopting some Catholic features. Several reprints of *Jesus en de ziel* were published shortly after 1678, and Luyken, besides modeling many more religious emblem books on the idea that faith could be visually enhanced, also supplied other authors with engravings which could be used in a similar way. A large interconfessional readership was garnered for this oeuvre, even though the complexity of Luyken's texts and imagery and his frequent allegorical allusions required considerable reading and viewing skills. A thorough knowledge of the Bible assisted Luyken's readers in their search for an interpretation.[56] From a collection of emblems especially made for his grandson titled *Des menschen begin, midden en einde* [Life's Beginning, Middle and End] dating from 1712, it becomes apparent that in Luyken's opinion even (little) children could be helped by such emblematic, visual aids. In these emblems, various events in a person's life—his birth, his first steps, the transition to adulthood, and finally his death—in combination with biblical quotes, poems and a song, conveyed the same spiritual lessons as offered in *Jesus en de ziel*. The visual means of enhancing faith were now considered acceptable among a wide Protestant audience, even for the most impressionable among them, little children.

In the Footsteps of Luyken

Luyken's success soon transcended his own works as he started to function as an example for many others: authors and publishers in Luyken's circles followed in his footsteps with publications based on Southern Netherlandish religious emblematics. Thus, a novelty which began as one individual's initiative developed into an extensive and

[56] See Gelderblom 2007a: 499–508, esp. 508.

widespread cultural force in the Republic. The explosive development of the Dutch Protestant emblem reflected some major social changes that occurred during the last decades of the seventeenth century: not only did the Protestants move toward the Catholics, as seen in the hybridization of Protestant and Catholic imagery, but the various Protestant groups also moved somewhat closer to each other. These changes cannot be attributed to Luyken alone: the publication of his *Jesus en de ziel* should be perceived as a milestone in an ongoing process of appropriation and reconciliation.

The existence of such a process became apparent in the previous chapter in the discussion of Dutch Reformed title pages. This trend spread even further in the 1680s and 1690s as demonstrated in the printing history of a sixteenth-century Lutheran versification of the Psalms written by Willem van Haecht. The twelfth edition of van Haecht's *De CL Psalmen des propheten Davids* [The hundred and fifty Psalms of the Prophet David] was produced in 1675 by the Amsterdam publishers Jacob de Jonge and Jan van Duisbergh. All the previous eleven editions of this volume contained either an unillustrated title page, or a title page with a (realistic) Bible illustration such as that of the 1647 edition published by Johannes Janssen.

In 1675, the first emblematic elements were introduced in the representation of David with the harp. David addresses Jesus on the cross on the title page of Willem van Haecht, *De CL Psalmen des propheten Davids*, produced in Amsterdam by Jacob de Jonge and Jan van Duisbergh in 1675. And in 1688, the next step toward an emblematic title engraving was taken. An opened Bible, surrounded by rays of light, is offered to the reader by a minister. David is now accompanied by a singing figure, with whom the reader can also identify (see Fig. 76).[57]

In between these two scenes a fortress is depicted, probably a reference to Luther's most famous hymn, 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott'. Near the end of the 1680s, Dutch Protestants of all denominations had evidently become accustomed to the layered, complex imagery typical of Catholic emblematic traditions. This is again demonstrated by a title page Luyken engraved for *Christelyke godgeleerdheid* [Christian Theology] by the Remonstrant minister Phillipus van Limborgh (see Fig. 77).

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[57] See on the printing history of van Haecht's versification van Manen 2001: 34.

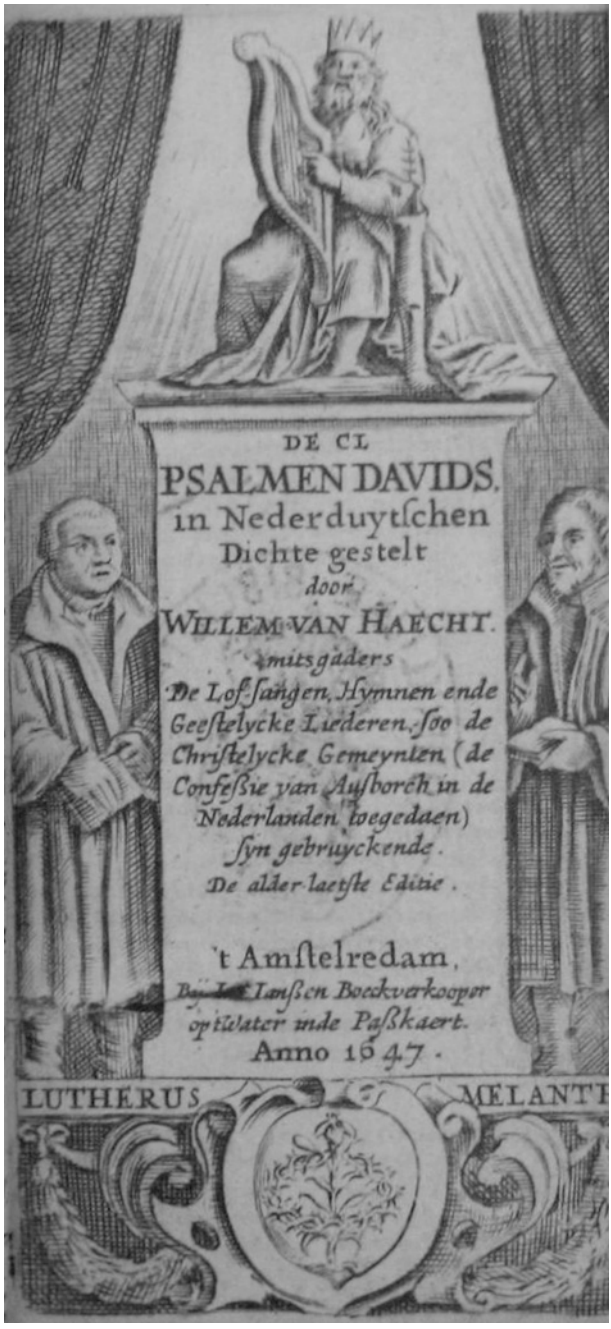

Fig. 75 Title page Willem van Haecht, *De CL psalmen Davids*. Amsterdam: Johannes Janssen, 1647.

In uw Licht sullen wy het Licht sien. Ps. 36. 10.
Eere zy God in de Hoogte.
Act: 2. 25. 36.
Evangelium
Nieuw Verbetert
PSALM EN GEZANG-BOEK
Geheel op Bekende Zang-wyzen ten dienste der Christelyke Nederlandsche Gemeynten van 't Onveranderde Augsburgsche Geloofs belydenisse.
T AMSTERDAM voor IAN van DUISBERG,
in de Stapel Papier. Met Privilegie.

Fig. 76 Title page from Willem van Haecht, *De CL Psalmen Davids*. Amsterdam: Jan van Duisbergh, 1688.

Fig. 77 Title page Phillipus van Limborgh, *Christelyke godgeleerdheid*. Amsterdam: Barent Visscher, 1701.

Further evidence of this cultural rapprochement can be found in the more positive views on the role of sight articulated among Protestants.[58]

Not only title pages but also printer's devices underwent the process of hybridization.[59] For his productions prior to 1682, Reinier van Doesburg—affiliated with the Dutch Reformed church—used a printer's device representing a basket of fruit; he subsequently used an angel's head depicted above two wings, and from 1685 onward, two angels holding up an opened Bible with a line from the Gospel of John: 'Uw Woord is de waerheyd' [Your Word is the Truth].[60]

In a printer's device used in 1696, engraved by Luyken, van Doesburg incorporated even more emblematic elements to convey the message that the fire of God's Word cannot be extinguished (see Fig. 79).[61]

It can hardly have been a coincidence that a year prior to this publication, van Doesburg produced his first emblematically illustrated religious work, *God in den zondaar verheerlikt* [God Glorified in the Sinner] by Simon Jodocus Kruger, while working together with Johannes Boekholt, the Dutch Reformed publisher from Amsterdam who spread Luyken's example beyond Luyken's confessional milieu to Dutch Reformed circles.[62]

In cooperation with Luyken and others, Boekholt published the religious emblem book *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* [Divine Flames of Love] in 1691, based on Hugo's *Pia Desideria*. For his second collection of religious emblems, *Geopende en bereidwillige herte na den Heere Jesus* [The Opened Heart Longing for Jesus], Boekholt looked outside the tradition of Hugo's and Vaenius' religious love emblems to base thirteen of his fifteen *picturae* on the Catholic pictorial tradition of heart

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[58] See for instance Hammond 1685. The illustration on this title page is accompanied by a poem by Frans de Haas which describes the aberrations of the human eye, but which also insists that the eye, when directed toward God, is a helpful instrument in the enhancement of faith.

[59] Allegorical imagery was also used at an earlier stage in these printer's devices, but in those cases the imagery did not derive from the Catholic tradition; see for instance the landscape depicted in the oval printer's device of Gerard van der Vivere, Teellinck's publisher, surrounded by words based on Isaiah 35: 'Waer het te vooren droogh geweest is daer sullen vivers sijn Esa. 35' [for in the desert shall waters break out]. See Teellinck 1621.

[60] The fruit basket was used in for instance Ridderus 1681, the angel's head in Saldenus 1682.

[61] See Alblas 1994: 2, 159–160, esp. 159, and Alblas 1987.

[62] See on Boekholt's role Alblas 1984: 18–24, esp. 22.

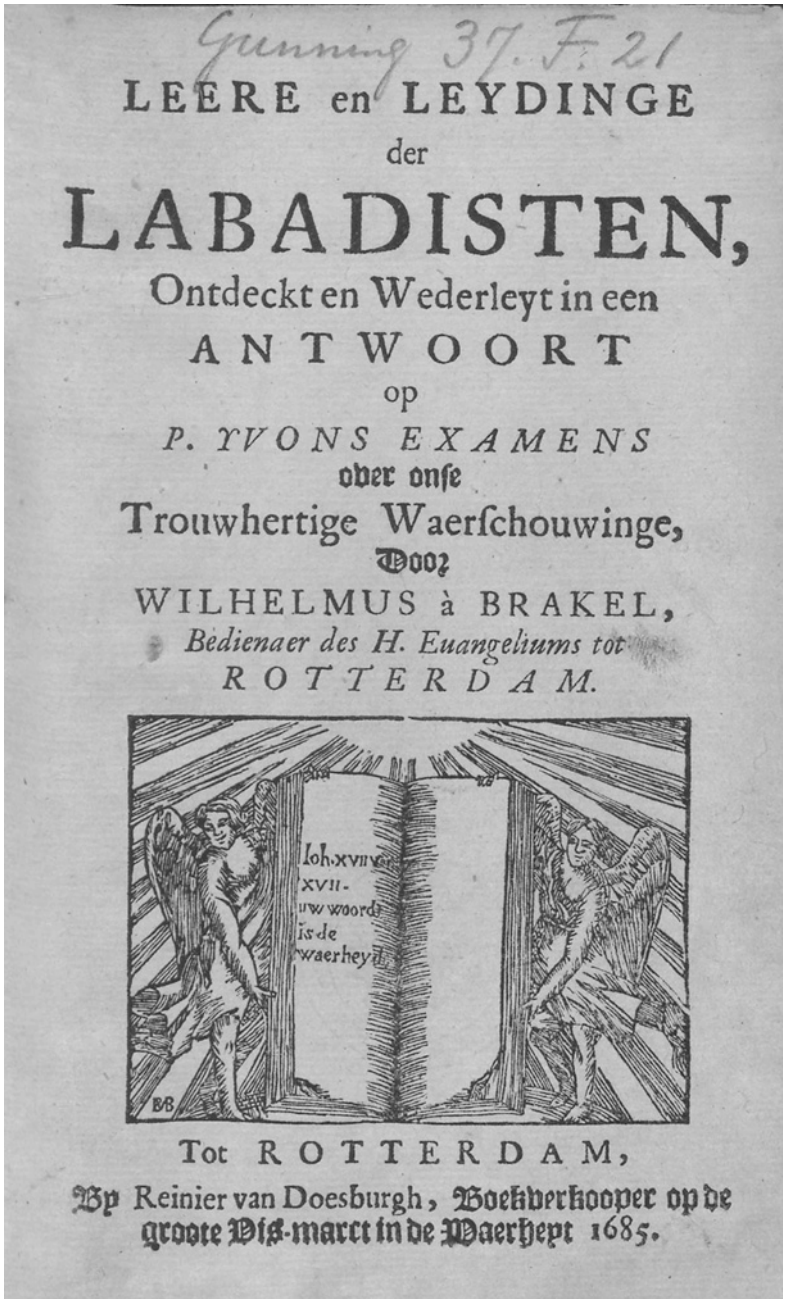

Fig. 78 Title page Wilhelmus à Brakel, *Leere en leydinge der labadisten, ontdeckt en wederleyt in een antwoort op P. Yvons Examens*. Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1685.

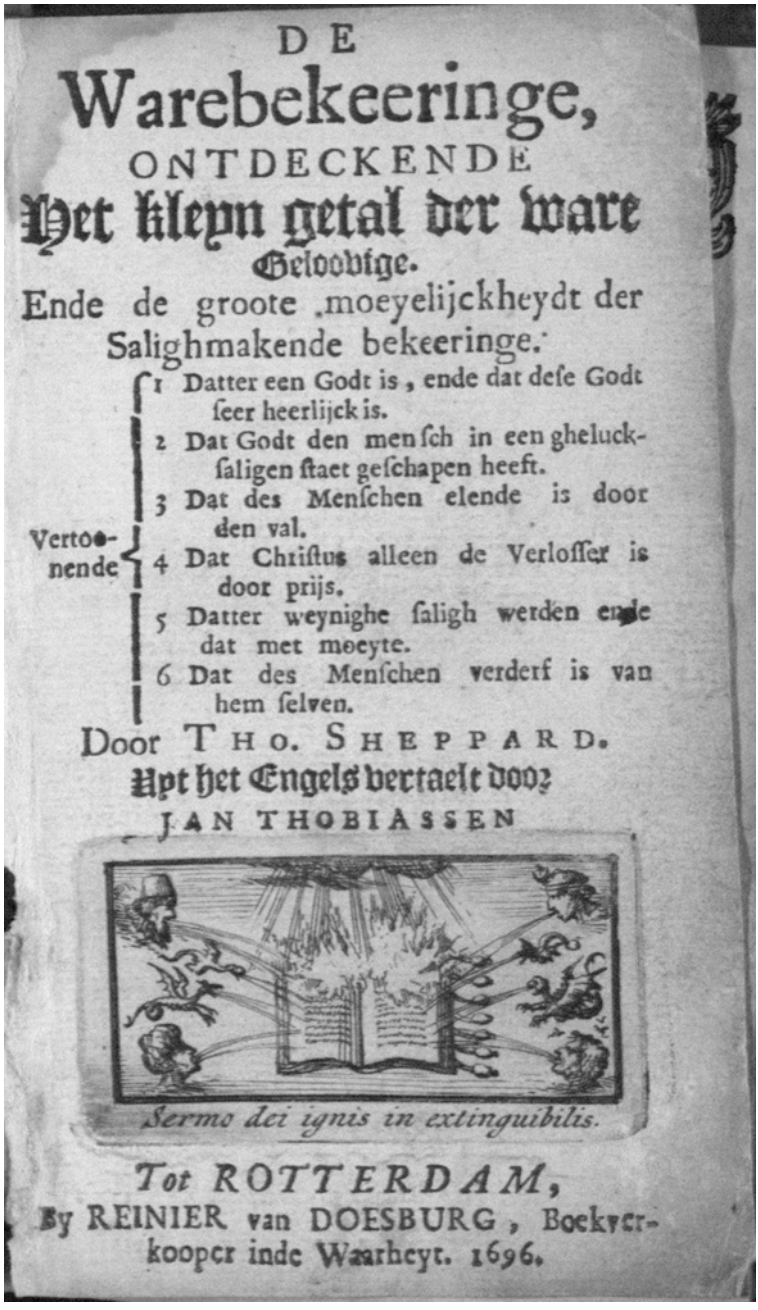
DE
Warebekeeringe,
ONTDECKENDE
Het kleyn getal der ware
Geloovige.
Ende de groote moeyelijckheydt der
Salighmakende bekeeringe.
Vertoonende
1 Datter een Godt is, ende dat dese Godt seer heerlijck is.
2 Dat Godt den menſch in een gheluckſaligen ſtaet geſchapen heeft.
3 Dat des Menſchen elende is door den val.
4 Dat Chriſtus alleen de Verloſſer is door prijs.
5 Datter weynighe ſaligh werden ende dat met moeyte.
6 Dat des Menſchen verderf is van hem ſelven.
Door THO. SHEPPARD.
Uyt het Engels vertaelt door
JAN THOBIASSEN
Sermo dei ignis in extinguibilis.
Tot ROTTERDAM,
By REINIER van DOESBURG, Boekverkooper inde Waarheyt. 1696.

Fig. 79 Title page Thomas Sheppard, *De ware bekeeringe, ontdeckende het kleyn getal der ware geloovigen*. Rotterdam: Reinier van Doesburg, 1696.

emblematics, such as found in Benedictus van Haeften's *Schola Cordis* [School of the Heart] (1629) (see Fig. 80).[63]

Boekholt had used exactly the same engravings in 1684 for his Dutch edition of the Spanish bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza's *El pastor de Nochebuena y*, titled *De harder van de goede nacht* (1684) [Shepherd of the Good Night]. Palafox was better known for his efforts to reform 'New Spain' than for his contribution to the Catholic Church in Europe;[64] but his *El pastor de Nochebuena y* had previously been published in a Dutch translation in Antwerp. This 1658 edition, produced without illustrations, could have been Boekholt's source of inspiration.[65] This particular case would then demonstrate how Dutch religious works acquired more and more illustrations based on Catholic iconography, even beyond the point which Catholic visual practices had reached in the Southern Netherlands. In Boekholt's case, much of the inspiration was drawn from German Protestant adaptations of Catholic emblem books: Boekholt adopted imagery which German Protestant emblematists had already reworked in a direction that he must have found appealing.

Boekholt's appropriation of heart emblematics would not result in a wider acceptance of this emblematic subgenre, which had even stronger emotional and mystical connotations than the religious love emblematics represented by Hugo's *Pia Desideria* and Vaenius' *Amoris Divini Emblemata*. Serrarius' *Goddelycke aandachten* was reprinted in 1713, but other Protestant adaptations of love emblems had a moralistic rather than meditational or mystical thrust.

In all of these cases, the original texts were adapted to Protestant needs. For his 1703 edition of Vaenius' *Zinnebeelden der goddelyke liefde*, the publisher Justus Danckert replaced all Latin quotes in Vaenius' emblems with biblical texts and a short 'sinspreukje' [proverb] focusing on the theme of love. Vaenius' images remained unchanged, as seen in this exemplary *pictura*, originally produced for Danckerts' 1703 edition and re-used by the publisher Johannes van Oosterwyck for his 1711 edition of *Otto van Veens zinnebeelden der goddelyke liefde* (see Fig. 81).

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[63] The fifteen finely etched emblems all revolve around the Heart of Jesus, with small angels holding it and offering it to men, women and children, who worship the heart but also abuse it; one of the *picturae* also includes a curious crucifixion scene.

[64] See Alvarez de Toledo 2004.

[65] Palafox y Mendoza 1658, translated by F. Lazarus Marcquis. See Alblas 1993: 87–97, esp. 96.

na de Heere Jeſus. 109

2 Cor. 2: v. 5.

Want gelijk het lijden Chriſti overvloedig is in ons, alſo is ook door Chriſtum onſe vertrooſtinge overvloediger.

2 Cor. 4: v. 10.

Altijd de dodinge des Heeren Jeſu, in den lichaame omdragende, op dat ook het leven Jeſu in onſe lichamen zoude geopenbaart werden.

A A N-

Fig. 80 Johannes Boekholt, *Geopende en bereidwillige herte na den Heere Jesus*. Amsterdam: Johannes Boekholt, 1693, 109.

DER GODDELYKE LIEFDE. 119
Hebt Chriſtum lief, die u verzoent heeft.
Heb lief die hier in 't aardſche dal
Gekomen is om uwent wille,
En heeft voldaan voor Adams val,
En Godes gramſchap konnen ſtillen
In 't lighaam van een Maget reyn;
Met ons zyn liefd' hy heeft gebonden;
Wy wierden groot, en hy wierd kleyn,
Wie zal die liefde Gods doorgronden.
H 4
Fon-

Fig. 81 *Otto van Veens zinnebeelden der goddelyke liefde.* Amsterdam: Johannes van Oosterwyck, 1711, 119.

By that time, the idea of using religious emblematic imagery beyond the realm of the religious emblem had attracted interest.[66] Van Oosterwyck illustrated the title page of one of his other publications, *De kruishistorie van den lydenden Heiland* [The Crucifixion Story of the Suffering Christ] by the lawyer Joan Jakob Mauricius, with eight little medallion-shaped biblical illustrations in an emblematic framework.[67]

A Christian warrior (the archangel Michael?), fighting off a dragon, was portrayed against the background of an open heaven with angels who appear to be encouraging him.

Oosterwyck not only widened the application of religious emblematic imagery, but was also more open in stating the origins of his sources. In the 1703 edition by Danckert, Vaenius' name was missing from the title page. Oosterwyck, however, included Vaenius' name in the title of his 1711 edition: apparently the connection with the Catholic Vaenius could be acknowledged without further ado under the maxim of love, as adopted by all those who worked in the footsteps of Luyken. Their irenic and peaceful intentions become apparent from statements such as the one made by Jan van Hoogstraten in his preface to the *Zegepraal der goddelyke liefde*.[68] Van Hoogstraten discussed the meaning of love for the Christian faith at some length, saying: 'O Love! Mother of the Light/On which God's Church is founded:/You are the door to eternal life;/Whoever enters this door, well prepared,/Will find endless bliss'.[69] Equally irenic is the tone in the preface of the abovementioned 1703 edition of Vaenius' *Amoris Divini Emblemata* by

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[66] Van Oosterwyck also enhanced the emblematic qualities of Danckerts' product by having a new frontispiece made for his reprint, with elements of Catholic emblematic iconography: a burning heart is lifted towards two angels as the female soul gazes upward; an anchor and cross are positioned at her feet. She ignores a mirror held in front of her by Cupid, who has laid down his arrow and bow. The engraving was designed and executed by Jacobus Schynvoet, who developed a similar plate for another of van Oosterwyck's publications, Ludolf Smids' *Emblemata Heroica*, dating from 1712.

[67] Jan Jacob was the son of the Catholic priest Johannes Mauricius, who converted to Protestantism when Jan Jacob was still a young boy. His father's conversion inspired Jan Jacob to write some anti-Catholic poems, contained in Mauricius 1753, 1–6 and 15–17. More details about Mauricius are given in Bork and Verkruijsse 1985: 378.

[68] Van Hoogstraten's emblems are based on the *Pia Desideria* and on another Jesuit book of love emblems, *Amoris Divini et Humani Antipathia*, which had been frequently published and enlarged in the 1620s.

[69] 'O Liefde! Moeder van het Ligt;/Waar op Gods Kerke word gestigt:/Gy zyt de deur van 't Eewig leven;/Wie door u ingaat wel bereyd//Vind Eyndelooze Zaligheyt.'. Van Hoogstraten 1709: fol. **2v. See on van Hoogstraten's affiliation Groenenboom-Draai 2006: 36.

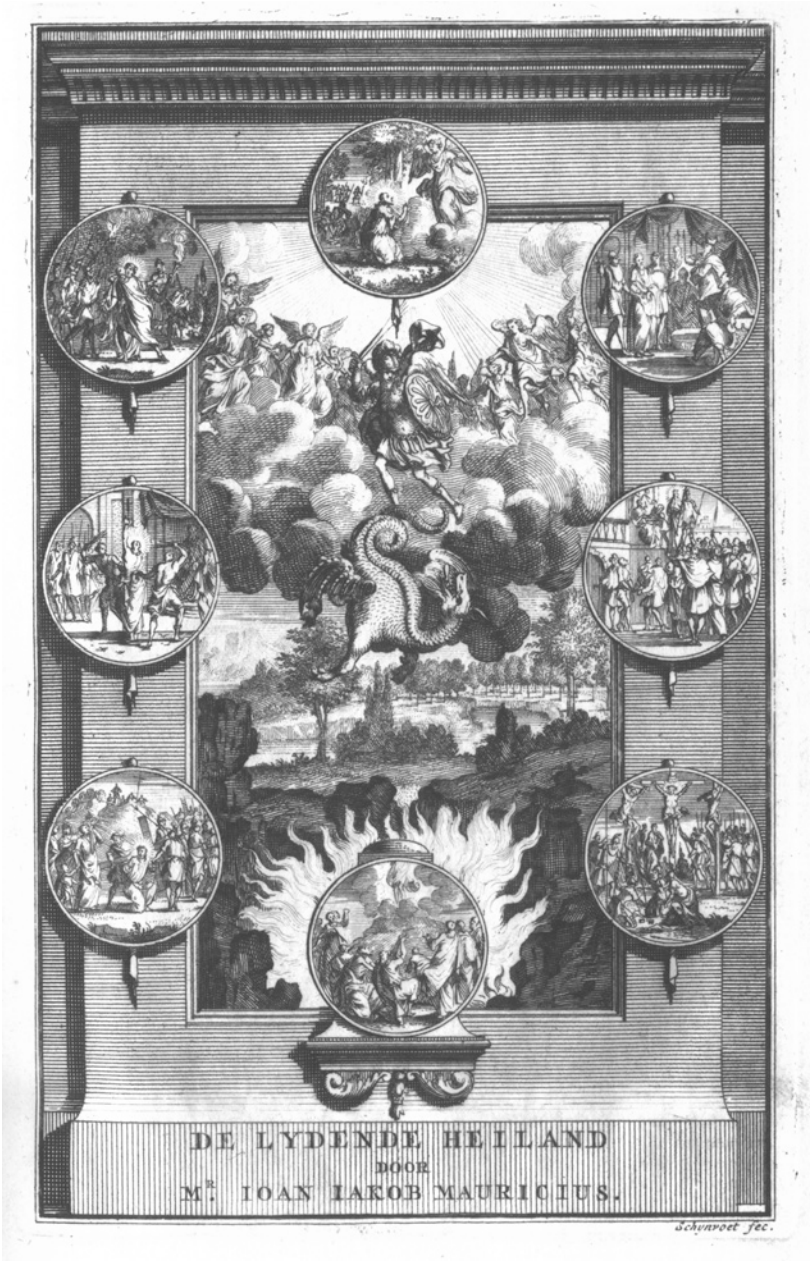

Fig. 82 title page in Joan Jakob Mauricius, *De kruishistorie van den lydenden Heiland, verdeeld in XXVI. Gedichten*. Amsterdam: Johannes van Oosterwijck, 1722.

Danckerts, who emphasized that he had reworked Vaenius' emblems out of love in return for the love given to us by God.[70] 'God is love', Danckerts maintained, referring to the words of the apostle John.[71]

These adaptations and reprints of Catholic emblem books testify not only to irenic but also to interconfessional intentions. Claas Bruin wrote new texts to Danckerts' plates in 1726, to 'satisfy to a certain extent my inborn penchant for the ethical'.[72] As the presentation of ethical lessons was his goal, confessional convictions were set aside. The general Christian approach Vaenius had introduced in his religious emblems was often easily adapted to Bruin's intentions, as can be seen in emblem 26, titled 'Nil amanti grave' [Nothing is difficult for him who loves] by Vaenius, and rephrased by Bruin as 'De Liefde ontziet geen arbeid' [Love spares no effort]. The *pictura* is unchanged, and the texts are also very similar. In 1615, Vaenius wrote:

> All that is and was invented
> Came about through love and labor;
> Thanks to love the soul thinks nothing
> Of a weight or burden, however heavy it may be:
> For everything she bears is very light,
> Neither pain nor torment makes her murmur,
> Indifferent she is to heat and cold,
> Since she is empowered by God's love.[73]

Divine love will provide support in any ordeal, is Vaenius' promise. And this promise is repeated by Bruin:

> My soul, be strong, and persevere;
> Do not succumb from your labor in the fields;
> Your Jesus will ease your burden;
> He is already taking your spade in his hand.
> What cannot be overcome with such support,
> What task could prove too difficult?

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[70] Danckerts was a member of a famous family of engravers and publishers, with some history in the printing of emblem books and picture Bibles. His father had published one of Vaenius' secular emblem books in 1683, as well as some illustrated Bibles in the 1680s.

[71] Van Veen 1703: fol. A2r.

[72] 'om myn aangeboorene zucht tot het zedelyke eenigsins te voldoen'. Bruin 1726: fol. *4v/r.

[73] 'Al watter is en wert bedacht/Door liefd' en arbeyt wert verkreghen//De ziele door liefde gansch veracht/Ghewicht, of last hoe swaer om weghen:/Het is al licht al wat sy draecht//Door pijn, noch quelling wert sy clachtich//Na heet of kou sy niet en vraecht//De liefde Godts die maeckt haer machtich'. Van Veen 1615: 58.

Be steadfast in your struggle for the crown
Of the eternal reward of grace.[74]

Here, too, the soul is presented with the prospect of divine love and aid, and the reader is urged to work diligently with an eye to the 'reward of grace'.[75]

As if to emphasize the interconfessional nature of these adaptations and reprints, Oosterwyck made no mention of Vaenius' Catholic background when introducing him to the Dutch public in the preface to his *Othonis Vaenii Emblemata Amoris Divini*. In fact, Vaenius and Luyken are presented as offshoots of the same tree: van Oosterwyck first emphasized Vaenius' Dutch roots, calling him a 'Leyenaar' because he was born in Leiden, then explained that both Vaenius' and Luyken's use of allegory originated in ancient Egypt.[76] The Egyptians were the first to use images—of animals and human beings—to convey their religious messages in a cryptic manner.[77] Their concept of personification had been enhanced in the sixteenth century by Ripa's *Iconologia* and Piërus Valerianus' *Hieroglyphica*, and, somewhat later, by the works of Ludolf Smid.[78] Vaenius simply followed the Egyptians' and Ripa's lead, according to van Oosterwyck, and thus avoided associating them with a confessional tradition. Vaenius' example inspired Luyken, van Oosterwyck maintained, to create his religious emblems

[74] 'Myn ziel, zyt kloek, en houd u sterk;/Bezwyk niet in uw akkerwerk;/Uw Jesus zal uw' last verligten;/Hy neemt u spaê reeds in de hand./Wat moet voor zulk een' onderstand [steun van God]//Hoe moeilyk 't werk ook zy, niet zwichten?/Stryd dan stantvastig om de kroon/Van 't eeuwige genadeloon'. Bruin 1726: 53.

[75] 'de mensch kan niet zalig worden zonder God, maar God wil den mensch niet zalig maken zonder den mensch' [Humankind cannot be saved without God, but God does not want to save humankind without [efforts made by] human beings]. Bruin 1726: 52.

[76] Vaenius is first introduced as the author of the '*Zinnebeelden der Menschelyke Liefde*' [the *Amorum Emblemata*], and then as a 'Leyenaar'. Oosterwyck based all of his information on van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, dating from 1604. Van Veen 1711: fol. *3v–*5r.

[77] To explain 'heilige saaken' [holy matters], as van Oosterwyck maintains, van Veen 1711: fol. *5r–v.

[78] Van Veen 1711: fol. *6r. Pierus Valerianus was the author of the sixteenth-century handbook *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum, aliarumque gentium literis commentarii* [Hieroglyphics, or a Commentary on the Sacred Writings of the Egyptians and Other Ancient Peoples]; Ludolf Smids authored a number of iconographic reference works, such as *Gallerye der uitmuntende vrouwen: Of der zelver deugden en ondeugden, in byschriften en sneldichten, vertoond, met verklaaringen en konstplaaten verrijkt* [Gallery of Excellent Women, or Virtues and Vices of the same, demonstrated in Epigrams and Poems, and additional Explanations and Figures]. Amsterdam: Jakob van Royen, 1690.

around the pictorial motif of 'a little winged girl as the human being's soul, and a little boy adorned with a radiant crown as an expression of divine love'.[79] Together the two personifications depict 'as *Jan Luiken* likes to say, the interaction between *Jesus* and the *Soul*.'[80]

The irenic intentions of these authors went beyond a reconciliation with Catholic traditions: they intended their religious emblem books to be read by a general, Christian audience which included Protestants from various denominations. This is most clearly expressed by one of the emblematists, the Anabaptist Suderman, in a preface to his translation of a treatise written by the Swiss theologian Jean Alphonse Turretin on the need for unity among the various Protestant churches:

> Oh, if only God would bring all Protestants,
> Enlightened by this cloud, to unite
> As kindred in one church, leaving what is unknown
> To Him, Who knows all […].[81]

Judging by the number of adaptations, and the frequency with which they were reprinted, Luyken and his followers did indeed find this broad and—at least in some respects—united audience.[82]

From a social conflict that arose in Utrecht between the Dutch Reformed Church and the town council in the same year that van Oosterwyck's adaptation of Vaenius' *Amoris Divini Emblemata* was published, it becomes apparent that—however large the Protestant audience for the religious emblems was—the power of the church over the government was shifting. In 1711, the Utrecht Dutch Reformed Church and the town council clashed on the issue of the inadmissibility of theatrical performances. Interestingly enough, the members of the town council were supported by Pieter Burmannus, a professor of

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[79] 'door een gevleugeld vrouwtje de *Ziel* van een wereldling, en door een jongetje, met een straalkroon vercierd, uitdrukkende de *Godlyke Liefde*.'. Van Veen 1711: fol. *6v.

[80] 'dit dus meede synde (gelyk het *Jan Luiken* lust te spreeken) de onderhandelingen van *Jesus* en de *Ziel*.'. Van Veen 1711: fol. *7r.

[81] 'Och gave Godt, dat alle Protestanten/Door deze wolk verlicht, als Kerkverwanten/Vereenden, en het onbekende aen Hem/Gelaten wierdt, die alles weet […]'. preface to Turretin 1724. On Turretin and his influence in the Republic see van Eijnatten 2002: 321.

[82] Luyken's *Jesus en de ziel* was reprinted in 1680, 1685, 1692, 1696, 1714, 1722, 1729 en 1744. Another eleven religious emblem books by Luyken were almost as popular in this period. Reprints of the *Goddelyke liefde-vlammen* were made in 1711, 1715 and 1736. Den Elger's collection of emblems was reprinted in 1725 and 1732, Hoogstraten's in 1737, and Suderman's in 1736.

Rhetoric and Ancient History at the conservative Utrecht University, where Voetius' strict views on the reprehensibility of theatre still prevailed.[83] Due to the strength of Voetius' faculty of theology, the conservative Dutch Reformed had gained a firm hold on the city of Utrecht in the second half of the seventeenth century, with the result that theatrical performances were forbidden. The town council lifted the ban of the church on these performances in 1711, and thus indicated that religion could no longer steer and limit all cultural practices in the city.

Restrictions: The Mystical Union

Even though Luyken did appropriate some key elements of Catholic emblematics in *Jesus en de ziel*, there were limits to what Protestants could do. From the preface to Jan Suderman's *De godlievende ziel* [The God-Loving Soul] published in 1724, it is clear that by faithfully reproducing the original engravings and mottoes of Hugo's *Pia Desideria*, a Protestant author risked being perceived as an advocate of the Catholic 'unio mystica', the ideal which Hugo had presented in that work. Suderman wrote a lengthy defensive explanation for his Protestant readership. First of all, he argued, 'the spiritual union of God and the soul' is a manner of speaking which is very common in the Bible, and therefore has a scriptural rather than a Catholic origin:

> And verily, the spiritual union of God with the soul, and of the soul with God is such a deep inner experience that H. Scripture knows of no more accurate description (if I may express myself thus) than to say that *they are one*. […] Therefore this is the true source of the expressions *to lose one's self in God*, *to sink into God*, *to become one and united with God*. Because, no matter how much criticism is leveled against this manner of speaking, or even mockery, I do not see that when understood in a spiritual way, as it should be, it is any more difficult to accept than the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ that *we must eat his flesh, drink his blood for us to abide in Him and He in us*. […] It is undeniable then that the true Religion exists between God and our soul, and that is something the world does not understand and therefore mocks.[84]

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[83] An analysis of this conflict is given in Kloek 2008.

[84] 'En waerlyk de geestelyke vereeniging van Godt met de ziele, en der ziele met Gode is zoo allerinwendigst, dat de H. Schrift daer van geene naeukeuriger beschryving weet te maken (op dat ik het zoo uitdrukke) dan met ons te zeggen dat zy een zyn. […] Hier van komen dan billyk de spreekwyzen van zich te verliezen in Godt, wegh te zinken in Godt, een en vereent te zyn met Godt. Want, wat men ook tegen deze wyze

Secondly, there is in essence nothing wrong with the concepts of 'union' or 'mystical union' although these words are sometimes misconstrued:

> I do not allege that there are no enthusiasts among those claiming themselves Mystics. Yet, I argue that one should differentiate between the Mystics who, by means of good reasoning, express the union between the soul and God—albeit at times in rather complicated language—and those who, owing to their weak intellect, do not walk well in the way of inner faith.[85]

The terms 'union' and 'mystic' could evoke the wrong associations, as Suderman says, since among those who called themselves Mystics, both within the Catholic church and in Suderman's own Protestant circles, there were people who claimed to experience the union of their souls with God, but who were really only flaunting their fervor out of intellectual weakness.[86] True believers should realize that the union between God and the soul is only reached by silently studying His presence in ourselves: '[t]he soul should look within itself to find God; then it will find itself in God'. [87]

Reasoned introspection, and not irrational enthusiasm, should lead to the kind of mystical union Suderman had in mind; his emblems are presented as useful aids in this process. The difference between the approach of Hugo and Suderman becomes obvious from a comparison of the texts accompanying this *pictura* in which the personified soul and Jesus are separated by a curtain; she seems to be asking him a question and his finger is on his lips.

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van spreken inbrenge, en zelfs daer mede spotte, ik zie niet dat zy, geestelyker wyze verstaen wordende, gelyk zy moet, harder is, dan het zeggen van onzen Heere Jezus Christus zelven dat wy zyn vleesch eten, zyn bloet drinken moeten om deel aen Hem te hebben. Hy zegt dat zyn vleesch waerlyk spys en zyn bloet waerlyk drank is. […] 't Is zekerder dan zeker dat de ware Godsdienst bestaet tusschen Godt en onze ziel, en dat is iets 't geen de weerelt niet kent en daerom bespot.'. Suderman 1724: fol. 5r–6v.

[85] 'Ik zegge niet dat 'er geene dweeperyen loopen onder sommigen die zich den naem van *Mystiken* geven, maer ik zegge dat men onderscheit moet maken tusschen *Mystiken* die met goede redeneringen de vereeniging der ziele met Godt uitdrukken, al zyn de woorden by wylen wat ingewikkelt, en anderen, die door zwakheit van verstant het rechte spoor des inwendigen godtsdiensts niet wel bewandelen.'. Suderman 1724: fol. 6r.

[86] See on this issue Spaans 2002b.

[87] 'De ziel moest Godt in zich zoeken en dan zou zy zich in Godt vinden.'. Suderman 1724: fol. 6v.

Fig. 83 Jan Suderman, *De godlievende ziel vertoont in zinnebeelden* door Herman Hugo and Otto van Veen. Amsterdam: Henrik Wetstein, 1724, plate LXII.

For this image, Hugo wrote a poem in which the speaker is overwhelmed by her own complaints, which fill the entire poem. In Suderman's text, this complaint is reduced to a few lines, while the rest is devoted to explaining the meaning of the depicted scene:

> Who has hung this curtain of separation,
> Which casts a shadow, sheer though it seems to the eye?
> The sun with her rays is able to penetrate
> Clouds which fill the bright canopy
> Of heaven, or to gild their edges:
> So, too, the splendor of the uncreated Sun [Jesus]
> Shines from behind this curtain.[88]

Suderman addressed an issue which was untouched by Hugo: what is the nature of the curtain (separation) between the soul and divine love? To what degree is it translucent? And whose shadow is depicted on the curtain? Is the soul standing in front of her own shadow, or is it divine love's shadow, whose light is shining through the curtain? The questions remain unanswered in Suderman's text, but it is significant that he focused on such questions and paid much less attention to the state of the soul herself.

It is more than likely that Suderman addressed the issue of mystical union in reaction to a French adaptation of the *Pia Desideria* and the *Amoris Divini Emblemata* by the controversial mystic Madame Guyon, which appeared in 1717 under the title *L'ame amante de son Dieu* [The Soul's Love for God]. According to its title page it was published in Cologne by Pierre Poirot, but in reality it was printed in Amsterdam by Hendrik Wetstein, and was thus also available in the Republic. The obvious kinship between Suderman's adaptation and Guyon's version—both works contained a typical combination of emblems by both Hugo and Vaenius—perhaps compelled him to express the opinion that complete appropriation of the Catholic mystical tradition was not his aim.[89] This wariness seems to have been widely shared among the Dutch Protestants: Boekholt's openly mystical *Geopende en bereidwillige herte na den Heere Jesus* was never to become a large-scale success among Protestants as a result of these persistent attitudes.

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[88] Wie heeft dit kleet der scheidinge opgehangen//Dat schaduw wekt, hoe luchtigh 't schyn' voor 't oogh?/Door wolken, die den heldren hemelboogh/Bezetten, weet de zon met hare stralen/Te boren, of de randen te bepralen:/Zoo praelt de glans der ongeschape Zon/Van achter deze afscheiding.'. Suderman 1724: 43.

[89] Guyon was not only distrusted by the Protestants; even the pope condemned her quietism, as pointed out in Guiderdoni-Bruslé 2004.

Figurative Tendencies among Protestants

A large Protestant readership for Dutch religious love emblems developed between 1700 and 1725. All the Protestant denominations were very likely represented in this audience, assuming that it reflected the various denominations of authors such as Luyken, Boekholt, van Hoogstraten and Suderman. The fact that the Dutch Reformed shared in this development can be related not only to the easing of restrictive policies in the 1670s, but also to a growing interest in the figurative reading of Scripture among Dutch Reformed artists and theologians such as the 'Cocceians', followers of Voetius' opponent Johan Coccejus, who regarded the books of Scripture as the gradual unfolding of a deeper divine plan rather than one unified revelation.

Aspects of Visual Culture: A Painter's Figurative Reading of the Bible

The figurative reading of the Bible was openly and forcefully propagated by Samuel van Hoogstraten, who was born to an Anabaptist family—his brother Frans would stay in these circles—but joined the Dutch Reformed Church after his marriage.[90] In a theoretical treatise on the art of painting, published in 1678 and titled *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst; anders de zichtbaere werelt* [Introduction to the Academy of Painting; or the Visible World], van Hoogstraten emphasized the positive aspect of the religious image,[91] recommending that 'churches and public areas should be decorated with edifying paintings'.[92] To underpin his opinion, he repeatedly appealed to Calvin's authority on the matter.[93] In the preface he claimed, for instance, on

[90] With this publication, van Hoogstraten aimed to elevate the art of painting by educating the painters, using the more highly valued art of literature as a point of reference. See especially van Hoogstraten 1678: 88.

[91] Even though van Hoogstraten's focus in the *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* was not on religious art in particular, the framework of his ideas was, in general, religious in nature. The second book van Hoogstraten planned to publish, with the provisional title '*d'Onzichtbare Werelt*', possibly would have revealed more of van Hoogstraten's view on the issue. This second book was, however, never published because van Hoogstraten died in 1678. It is briefly mentioned in the preface to van Hoogstraten 1678: 4.

[92] 'Kerken en openbare plaetsen moetmen met nutter Schilderyen voorzien.'. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 95.

[93] More than once van Hoogstraten reinforces his approach by referring to Calvin's theological works. When he advises beginner painters to read many books in order to paint according to the knowledge they contain, he urges them—on Calvin's account—to

the basis of a passage from Calvin's *Institutes*, that involvement with the arts is justified because sculpture and paintings are gifts of God.[94] Images are allowed as long as they are properly used.[95] And for van Hoogstraten, 'oprecht en zuiver gebruik' [proper and pure use] turned out to be: 'painting everything the eye can see.'[96]

According to van Hoogstaten, an artist should study the works of God—nature, in particular—in order to be able to recreate them in the most perfect and beautiful form on the canvas, with the purpose of edifying viewers and supporting their meditations: although there are more effective ways of doing this, paintings incite 'the human mind

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be careful: 'zoo ten aenzien van 't geene gy uitbeelt, als ten opzicht van de plaetse, daer uw werk zal gestelt worden. *Kalvijn* zegt, dat de Martelaeren niet betaemelijk van weezen geschildert worden: En datmen in de Bordeelen en Hoerhuizen schaemtelijker en matiglijker versierde vrouwen, dan maegdebeelden in de Kerken vint. Daerom laetse toch, vervolgt hy, haere beelden een weynig schaemtelijker maeken' [with regard to what you depict, and where your work will be displayed. Calvin maintains martyrs are not painted in a seemly way and that one is more likely to find decently and soberly dressed women in a whorehouse than decent and sober statues of the virgin in churches. Therefore, he continues, these statues should be made in a more sober style]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 94. Calvin's critical point of view thus is turned into good advice, with the implication that observing standards of 'betamelijkheid' [decency, or seemliness] would be sufficient.

[94] 'Ik en ben niet zoo superstitieus, zegt *Calvijn*, dat ik zoude achten ganschelijk geene beelden lijdelijk te zijn: maer dewijl het snijden ofte graeven, en maelen of schilderen Gods gaven zijn, zoo eysche ik het oprecht en zuiver gebruik daer van: op dat het geene ons van de Heere tot zijn eere en ons nut gegeevenis, door het misbruik niet ontreynigt worde, noch tot ons verderf verkeere' [I am not so superstitious, Calvin maintained, as to think that no images whatsoever are permissible: but as carving, engraving, drawing and painting are God's gifts, I demand them to be used properly and purely: to ensure that what was given to us by God, to His honor and to our benefit, will neither be defiled by misuse nor will count against us]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 359. See Weststeijn 2009: 109.

[95] 'Dus is het misbruik der Schilderyen teegen Godts gebodt, en by alle verstandigen bestraft en veragt. Maer dat het rechte gebruik daer van daerom afgeschaft zouw worden, was zoo onreedelijk, als ofmen den Wijn uit de werelt bande, om dat hy misbruikt zijnde, dronken maek.' [The misuse of images is therefore against God's commandment and is condemned and detested by all sensible people; but to abolish the right use of the image, would be as unreasonable as banning all the wine from the world because it causes drunkenness when improperly used], van Hoogstraten 1678: 359. Idolatry, the wrong use of the image, is a minor issue in the *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, discussed in a short passage in one of the last chapters: 'Maer deeze dwaze en overgeloovige eer, die de Schilderyen somtijts wort aengedaen, geschiet zeker niet wegens de konst, dit is des konstigen Schilders doel niet, maer wel het wit van geestlijke bedriegers'. [This foolish and superstitious honor paid to images does not come about because of the art; this is not the painter's purpose, but the aim of clerical deceivers]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 358.

[96] 'al wat gezien word, mag maer geschildert worden'. [it is permissible to depict everything that is seen]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 359.

to virtue', since 'the constant dwelling on God's Creation' focuses our attention on 'the Creator of it all'.[97] The typological and analogical ways of reading the Bible provide support for the painter. The episode in which Moses struck a rock to bring forth water can, for example, be read in a typological manner, since the rock which was struck by Moses is also a representation of Christ.[98]

Van Hoogstraten acknowledged the deceptive nature of the visual arts: 'The art of painting is a skill of rendering all the ideas or impressions that the whole visible world offers, and of deceiving the eye with line and color'.[99] Nevertheless he perceives the arts to be a means to meditate on God's presence on earth, and to edify believers: 'For a perfect painting is like a mirror of nature that makes things which are not there appear to be there, and it deceives in an acceptably pleasant and praiseworthy manner'.[100] He points out the Jesuits' successful use of religious imagery to convince his Protestant readership: 'The Jesuits, knowing that seeing goes far beyond saying, have taken up the habit of expressing the suffering of our Savior by performances as well as paintings and *tableaux vivants*, and they testify that these images move the hearts of the common people to compassion and reverence more effectively than the best sermon might do.'[101] Van Hoogstraten stayed

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[97] 'Dat het enkel oogmerk onzer Schilderkonst zouw zijn, den geest tot de Deugt te bereyden, willen wy niet drijven, wy kennen een naeder en zekerder weg, maer dat zy niemand van de deugd afhoudt, is onwedersprekelijk: jae datze den oprechten oeffenaer, door het geduurich bespiegelen van Godts wondere werken, tot den Schepper aller dingen in hoogen aendacht optrekt, is kennelijk genoeg'. [We do not wish to argue that the sole purpose of our art is to incite the human spirit to virtue, since we know there is a more fitting and effective way to do this; but it is undisputable that it prevents no one from being virtuous; in fact, the sincere practitioner, by constantly mirroring God's wondrous works, is drawn up by his art in exalted contemplation of the Creator of all things]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 346.

[98] 'Zoo wort ook *Christus* door de Rotse, daer *Moses* het water uit dede vlieten, verbeelt.'. [Thus Christ is also depicted as the rock from which Moses brought forth water]. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 90.

[99] 'De schilderkonst is een wetenschap, om alle ideen, ofte denkbeelden, die de gansche zichtbaere natuer kan geven, te verbeelden: en met omtrek en verwe het oog te bedriegen.'. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 24.

[100] 'Want een volmaekte Schildery is als een spiegel van de Natuer, die de dingen, die niet en zijn, doet schijnen te zijn, en op een geoorlofde vermakelijke en prijslijke wijze bedriegt.'. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 24.

[101] 'De Jesuyten mede, wel wetende hoe veel het zien voor 't zeggen gaet, hebben een gewoonte aengenomen van door vertooningen, zoo van schilderyen, als levendige beelden, de lijdingen onzes Heylants uit te drukken, en getuigen dat deze vertooningen de gemeene gemoederen meer tot mededogen en aendacht bewegen, als de beste predikatie mogelijk zoude kunnen doen.'. Van Hoogstraten 1678: 349–350. Van

within the lines of the acceptable, it seems, by not praising the religious image as superior to the word, while at the same time suggesting that words poorly chosen should be valued less than the splendid imagery of the Jesuits.[102]

Theological Emblems

In the area of Dutch Reformed theology, Coccejus made an important contribution to the figurative reading of the Bible. He stimulated interpretations based on comparisons between passages from the Old and the New Testament, an approach inspired by the early Christian allegorical way of reading the Bible. From this he concluded that an image (an object, a figure, a scene) could be interpreted as a metaphor for the purpose of edifying readers.[103] Out of the idea that the Bible could be read allegorically came the advance of the theological emblem, introduced by one of the most outspoken 'Cocceians', the theologian Johannes d'Outrein. His *Proef-stukken van heilige sinnebeelden* [Examples of Holy Emblems] includes an explanation of over three hundred pages as well as a defence of the concept of the (theological) emblem. Everything God created, d'Outrein maintains, can be seen and read as an image with a concealed meaning. Countless quotations from works by various renowned theologians are given in support of this idea.[104]

The ambiguity of his title—'proefstukken' can be read as 'examples', but also as 'proof'—testifies to d'Outrein's dual objective: he meant to defend the concept of the theological emblem in his preface, but also to demonstrate the genre by offering samples of emblematic theological thinking. Only the title page of d'Outrein's emblem book is illustrated, with twelve emblematic scenes portraying landscapes, pilgrims and a

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Hoogstraten articulates a view which has been referred to by Boudewijn Bakker as 'a religiously based aesthetic principle', which coincided with the idea that moral lessons and theological associations could be hidden in images. Bakker 2004: 278–279.

[102] In his *Tooneelschilt of pleitrede voor het tooneelrecht* [Shield for the Theatre or Plea for the Existence of Theatre] dating from 166, Vondel had also referred approvingly to the practice of the Jesuits and their 'Godtvruchtige en stichtelijcke tooneelspelen, en tooneeldanssen [God-fearing and edifying stage plays and stage dances]', Vondel 1936: 386.

[103] See Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 839–840.

[104] More details on d'Outrein's *Proef-stukken van heilige sinne-beelden* are given in Schenkeveld 2003: esp. 983 and 996. And see on Coccejus' role van Asselt 1997, and Spaans 2008: 48–57.

warrior, an aggregate of the themes discussed in the expository texts in the volume. In one of these treatises, the representation of Christ as the Sun of Righteousness (Malachi 4:2) is discussed in great detail. The accompanying *pictura* on the title page shows a rising sun shining on a group of wandering shepherds. This picture, though innocent in its appearance, represented quite a change for the Dutch Reformed Church, dominated as it had been by Voetius' views through most of the seventeenth century.

The title page of d'Outrein's *Proef-stukken van heilige sinne-beelden* was based on a pictorial language which had long been employed and accepted by many Protestants in the Republic, but which was rather new to d'Outrein's publisher, Gerard Borstius of Amsterdam. Borstius had published as many as one hundred and sixty works before 1700, mainly Pietistic Dutch Reformed in nature, but only two of those — written by Antonius Bynaeus, whose works had been previously published by others with illustrations—contained illustrations. Even Borstius' title pages were for the most part unillustrated. Seen in this context, the publication of d'Outrein's *Proef-stukken van heilige sinne-beelden* marked a significant change in direction for Borstius, as well as for his Dutch Reformed public. d'Outrein's innovation was not an immediate success; a reprint was never issued by Borstius. The late 1720s, however, brought the publication of more collections of theological emblems, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Biblical Emblems

A figurative reading of the Bible also opened the way for the publication of religious emblem books such as Hendrik Graauwhart's *Leerzame zinnebeelden, bestaande in christelyke bedenkingen door vergelykinge eeniger schepselen als dieren, vogels, gewassen* [Instructive Emblems, consisting of Christian meditations using Comparisons with Animals, Birds and Plants], published in 1704, and its sequel *Voorbeeldelyke zedelessen* [Exemplary Moral Lessons] dating from 1709. Graauwhart based his emblems on various elements of God's creation, systematically relating them to biblical passages and teachings. The concluding emblem of his *Leerzame zinnebeelden*, for instance, has a *pictura* displaying chaff and grain; the accompanying text explains how Christ will separate the chaff (the wicked) from the grain (the pious) at the Last Judgment. Graauwhart's application of the concept of the figurative reading of the Bible would be far more

successful than d'Outrein's. Six reprints were issued between 1725 and 1764, which stimulated Graauwhart to produce another collection of biblical emblems in 1728, titled *Godvrugtige christen-pligten; volgens de vermaaning des H. apostel Petrus* [Duties of the Pious Christian, according to the Admonition by the Holy Apostle Paul].

That not only the Cocceians among the Dutch Reformed but also those more oriented toward Voetius were reconsidering their position is illustrated by the printing history of Willem Sluiter's *Buiten- eensaem huis-, somer- en winterleven*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this meditational poem was first published without illustrations in 1668, but was enhanced with an engraved title page by Boekholt in the 1680 edition. In 1687, Boekholt's rival, the publisher Gerbrand Schagen, added four illustrations by Jan Luyken. The original poem was further developed into a collection of emblems in 1717, when the publisher Jacob van Royen added poems by Abraham Bógaert, 'Byschriften op W. Sluiters Buitenleven' [Subscriptions to W. Sluiter's Buitenleven], and illustrated them with *picturae* based on Cats' imagery. This was all done with the consent of Sluiter's son Joannes Sluiter, according to van Royen.[105] Joannes, who was as orthodox as his father had been, and who perhaps hampered the first attempts made by Boekholt to lavishly illustrate his father's work, was now persuaded otherwise.[106]

The Catholic Production

Krul and Meyster were not succeeded by a new generation of Catholic emblematists after 1680, nor did Catholic publishers and engravers manifest themselves in the realm of the picture Bible and illustrated Bibles as prominently as Paets and van Sichem had done. New, unillustrated Catholic publications were emerging, however: after 1680, the production of Catholic prayer books, books of hours, catechisms and church books showed a sharp increase in the Republic.[107] These works very often contained only an illustrated title page, or a small number of prints based on Catholic emblematics, as in this 1718 edition of Wilhelm Nakatenus' *Hemels palm-hof, ofte groot getyde-boek* [Heavenly Garden of Palms, or Large Book of Hours].

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[105] This printing history was first noted in Geerars 1956.

[106] On Joannes Sluiter's orthodox attitude see Duijkerius 1991: 35; on Joannes' interference with his father's legacy, Blokland 1965:165.

[107] They were still much smaller in number than similar works produced for the Catholics in the Southern Netherlands, as argued by Clemens 1988: volume 1, 53.

Fig. 84 Wilhelm Nakatenus, *Hemels palm-hof, ofte groot getyde-boek*. Antwerpen: Gerardus van Bloemen, [1718], 96.

The title pages of these publications usually indicated a city in the Southern Netherlands as the place of publication, and most often they were actually produced there. But sometimes, as seems the case in the above example, they were in fact printed in Amsterdam.[108] The same titles would thus be produced for both the Southern and Northern Netherlands, although in much smaller quantities for the North.[109]

At the same time, the production of devotional prints—for instance based on Bolswert's engravings but also on compositions by Rembrandt, and accompanied by a few lines of texts—circulated in large numbers. These were very rarely produced by publishers in the North, but nevertheless bore some typically Northern features: prints made to commemorate the deceased for distribution during or after a funeral were, for instance, introduced in the Republic before they were used on a large scale in the Southern Netherlands. Also, a new audience was found in the Republic, as 'klopjes' [laywomen involved in parish work, instruction of children in the Catholic faith, etc.] became the primary target of devotional prints.[110]

The new emblematic works produced in the Southern Netherlands would not become part of the Northern production process. They remained a Southern affair.[111] This is not to say that there was no (continuing) appreciation for this specific type of emblem and iconography among Catholics in the Republic. The scientist Johannes van Swammerdam, for example, was obviously intrigued by the Wierix series *Cor Jesu Amanti Sacrum*, as he pasted them into one of his books.[112] The rise of new genres in the Republic and the absence of Northern reprints or adaptations of Southern publications can be seen as indicative of a gradual divergence of the Southern and Northern Netherlandish Catholic identities.

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[108] Amsterdam was apparently the leading city for such publications, although some were produced in Haarlem, Leiden, Rotterdam and Utrecht; Clemens 1988: volume 1, 55.

[109] The most popular title was: *Christelyke onderwysingen en gebeden […] rakende de voornaemste verbintenissen der gelovigen* [Christian Lessons and Prayers… concerning the Principal Obligations of the Faithful]. Rotterdam: Joannes van Weert, 1690). Clemens 1988: volume 1, 58.

[110] See on the characteristics of this corpus Verheggen 2006 and Verheggen 2008.

[111] Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 479–483.

[112] Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 849–851; De Baar 2005.

Religious Toleration and Religious Identities

The willingness at the end of the seventeenth century to annex literary genres developed by others reflects the reduction of interest in profiling one's own confessional identity. Emblematic features derived from the Catholic tradition were widely employed in shaping the faith of Protestant readers after 1678. It is noteworthy that this process had already started in the 1660s and 1670s with the cautious and small-scale appropriation of elements of Catholic iconography by pietistic Dutch Reformed, who—as a dominant group—seem to have created opportunities for furthering this trend.

These developments contradict what has previously been suggested by several scholars, namely the growth of anti-Catholicism amongst laypeople in the Netherlands around 1680. The contrary seems to have been the case: after 1678, the nature of toleration changed from enduring to sharing, as outspokenly Catholic features were incorporated into Protestant identities.

Protestant religious emblematics, such as were from then on created by representatives of all Protestant denominations, refrained from emphatically justifying the Protestant cause or any specific confessional issue; rather, the focus was on developing the believer's soul. The adaptation of concepts from other denominations to the preferences of Protestant readers did not lead to any form of polemics with the Catholics. It has been argued before that at the end of the seventeenth century religious culture, under the influence of the Enlightenment, took a direction which can be characterized as a shift away from the church as institution towards the individual believer.[113] This argument is supported by the literary developments described here: at the end of the seventeenth century, a public case was made for an interconfessional focus on the importance of personal piety, with the result that religious quarrels were avoided and Christian forces showed signs of unification.

Some confessional differences and variations remained in place, however. The religious emblem was not as favored by Dutch Reformed authors as it was by Anabaptists, and even though Luyken and his

[113] As concluded by Sommerville, who draws evidence from the analyses of numerous aspects of early modern English culture, ranging from literature to feasts and from science to language (Sommerville 1992). The influence of the Enlightenment on this development in the Republic is discussed in Spaans 2008.

followers created a visual piety that eventually diminished the distinction between Protestant and Catholic attitudes towards the image, the two traditions did not merge completely. And there were certainly limits to the process of appropriation: the emblematists purposely created a distance between their own work and Catholic emblems, and did not inform their readers about the origins of their visual images and emblematic concepts. The Protestant emblem books initially lacked any clear allusions to or defence of their Catholic legacy, and it was not until 1711 that a precursor was acknowledged, when Vaenius' name was explicitly mentioned on van Oosterwyck's title page.

It could be argued that this cultural tradition could be successfully appropriated by Dutch Protestants because the Dutch Catholic identity itself had lost much of its edge and presence: the religious emblem, which had been the Catholics' domain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was no longer employed by Catholic authors in the North such as Krul and Meyster. The rise of new and exclusively Catholic genres such as the soberly illustrated prayer books, church books and catechisms, produced on a reasonably large scale, suggests that the Dutch Catholics were developing a new and idiosyncratic identity, moving away from the Protestants who were absorbing significant aspects of the old Catholic identity into their own.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANNEXATION, 1725–1795

In the second half of the eighteenth century, religious imagery became an increasingly important means of religious instruction for all Dutch Protestants. The Protestant appropriation of Catholic love emblematics led to the development of idiosyncratic Protestant religious emblems, which thrived in a period when the popularity of the emblematic genre in general was in sharp decline. Protestants used this literary aid, previously a feature of another denomination's identity, to profile their own identity in a changing Dutch society.

Catholics in the Republic had no part in this flourishing of the new religious emblem, just as they did not share in the production of picture Bibles, a genre which also became increasingly popular among Protestants, mainly because a new target audience was found in Protestant children. Dutch Catholic devotional works previously published in the Southern Netherlands were, however, more and more produced by publishers in the North, where new types of Catholic illustrated devotional literature were developed as well, indicating the progression of a new and uncompromised Catholic identity in the Republic, one no longer solely based on Southern Netherlandish traditions.

Picture Bibles and Biblical Illustrations for Protestants

The wide array of picture Bibles which became available after 1700 was further augmented in the second half of the eighteenth century. This expanded production seems correlated with a general improvement of reading skills among Protestants, which came about through the reading of the Bible at school, but also in the home. After 1750, more and more Dutch households were in possession of a Bible and/or a picture Bible.[1] These circumstances allow us to interpret literary development even more directly as a reflection of social change.

[1] On the possession of books see Blaak and Jackson 2009: passim; and Kloek and Mijnhardt 2004: 87.

The Catholics did not share in the picture Bible's success.[2] The most telling detail about their diminishing role is perhaps the fact that van Sichem's woodcuts, used for the 1646 edition of Paets' *Bibels tresoor*, were re-used by the Protestant publisher Hendrik Walpot in Dordrecht, around 1730, to produce the *Bybels lusthof* [Biblical Pleasure Garden]. Another three editions appeared in 1743, 1754 and 1779, all produced by publishers with a solid Protestant, and even anti-Catholic background. The Catholic legacy was completely annexed, one might even say 'poached' by Protestants, for whom the picture Bible had now become a fully accepted, widespread and affordable means of religious instruction.[3] Catholics countered this Protestant advance by producing new editions of works such as the illustrated Moerentorf Bible, printed in 1743 by the widow of Joannes Stichter in Amsterdam.

Engravers, publishers and authors of all Protestant denominations cooperated in a manner which had become the norm over the preceding hundred years. New plates for editions were engraved in the same style as found in almost all seventeenth-century products: no allegorical or emblematic elements were added, since the Bible illustrations were still meant to render the biblical stories as literally as possible.[4] In the same spirit, confessional issues receded into the background in the accompanying texts.[5] New publications were based on proven concepts: Crispijn De Passe's *Liber Genesis*, for instance, was translated into Dutch, and inexpensive prints, largely woodcuts, also circulated in large numbers.[6] Reprints of older editions kept appearing as well such as the *Hondert vyf en vyftig bybelsche print-verbeeldingen*, reprinted in 1736 and 1742.

The complete acceptance of Bible illustrations by Protestants is also evident from the increased use of this imagery in Dutch Reformed collections of religious poems. Several poems on Christ's passion, first published in 1651 in an anthology titled *Verscheyde Nederduytsche*

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[2] The absence of non-Protestant Bibles for children is mentioned in van der Meiden 2009: 45, note 20, and 268–269.

[3] The term 'poaching' was introduced by Michel de Certeau, as described in Frijhoff 2010: esp. 84.

[4] On the perpetuation of the sixteenth and seventeenth century tradition see van der Coelen 1998: 246.

[5] As also argued in de Vries 2009: esp. 343.

[6] Titled *Het boek Genesis, vervattende de Schepping des weerelds*, published around 1740 by Isack Greve in Amsterdam, and in another edition by Jacob Robijn at the end of the eighteenth century. See van der Coelen 1998: 242–243, Schenda 1987: 98–99.

gedichten [Various Dutch Poems], remained unillustrated in seventeenth-century reprints, but illustrations were added in eighteenth-century editions. Consequently, the 'Ecce Homo' of Jeremias de Decker's *Goede Vrydag ofte het Lijden onses Heeren Jesu Christi* [Good Friday or the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ]—a scene which Teellinck in 1622 maintained should remain without imagery—was illustrated in the 1726 edition (see Fig. 85).[7]

A similar development can be seen in later editions of *De kruishistorie van den lydenden Heiland* by Mauricius, mentioned in the previous chapter. In the first edition of this work, dating from 1714, only the title page was illustrated. The eight little medallion-shaped illustrations appearing there were used in the 1722 reprint as the designs for eight full-size engravings (see Fig. 86).

Franciscus Martinius' *Gedichten* [Poems], including some specimens of passion lyrics, had been also been published in unillustrated editions in the seventeenth century, but in the 1729 reprint many illustrations were added, not only of the 'Ecce Homo' scene, but also of the Descent from the Cross and the Resurrection (see Fig. 87).

These illustrations were based on designs by Karel van Mander, which were over a century old at the time these 1729 plates were engraved. This testifies to the conventionality of the genre of the Bible illustration: only minor innovations were introduced in a period of over one hundred and twenty years.

The limitations to artistic freedom in the area of Bible illustrations were not only imposed by theologians, but also by French Classicists, who kept a close eye on the purity of biblical art forms—not for theological reasons, but because of the turmoil which often resulted from (theological) discussions on biblical representations.[8] In line with the French-Classicist views on good taste, Arnold Houbraken discussed the unwanted mix of biblical and mythological elements in a painting of Lievens, in his history of Dutch art titled *De groote schouburgh*

[7] An overview of reprints of de Decker's works and their illustrations is given in de Decker 1978: 139; and Karsemeijer 1934: appendix III.

[8] The group of Dutch authors who founded the French Classicist literary society Nil Volentibus Arduum [Nothing is difficult for those who strive] in 1669 opposed the use of biblical subjects in plays, because they feared poets were incapable of making true and worthy representations of the biblical stories on stage. This was also the view expressed by Andries Pels in his *Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels* [The Use and Abuse of the Stage, 1681]. See Pels 1978: 59–60 and 11–16. See on NIL's intentions also Schenkeveld 1991: 16.

Fig. 85 Jeremias de Decker, *Alle de rym-oeffeningen*. Ed. Mattheus Brouërius van Nidek. Amsterdam: David Ruarus, wed. Antony van Aeltwyk, Hendrik Bosch, Willem Barents, Hendrik Stockink and Adam Lobé, 1726, facing 234.

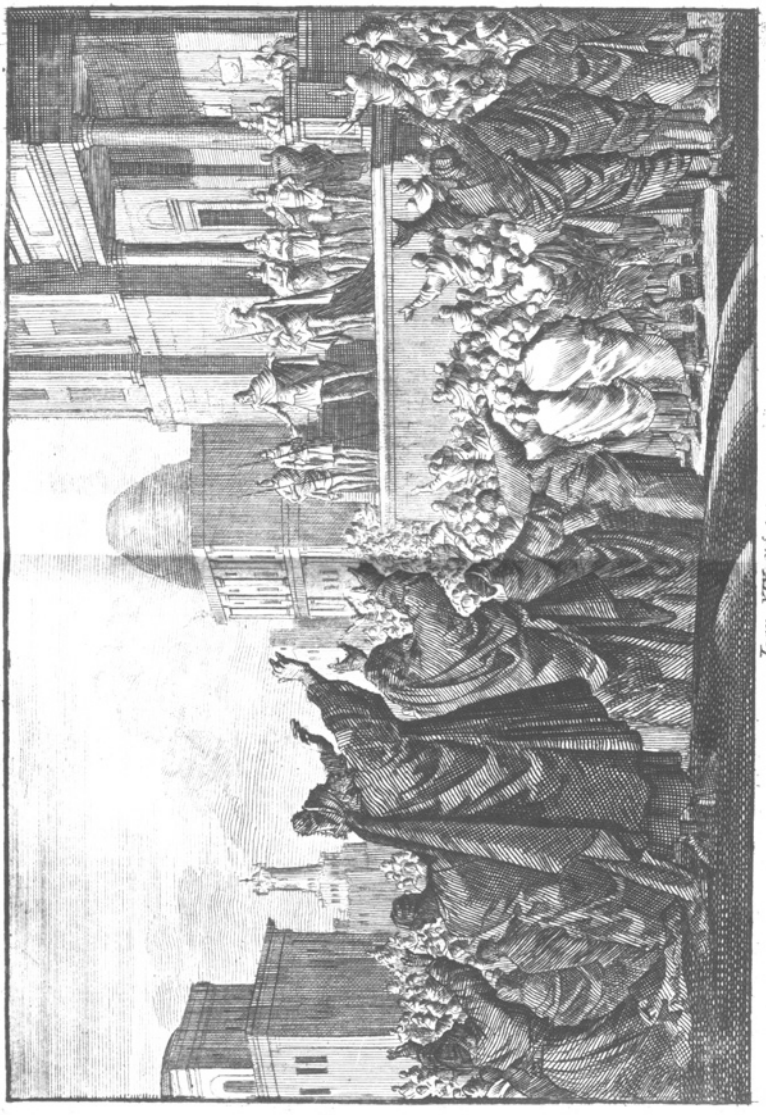

Fig. 86 Engraving in Joan Jakob Mauricius, *De kruishistorie van den lydenden Heiland, verdeeld in XXVI. Gedichten.* Amsterdam: Johannes van Oosterwijck, 1722, folio facing 28.

Fig. 87 Franciscus Martinius, *Gedichten*. Den Haag: Jacobus de Jongh, 1729, following 32.

der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen [The Large Theatre of Netherlandish Men and Women Painters], dating from 1721.[9] Houbraken's *De groote schouburgh* was meant to be a sequel to van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* dating from 1604. Not only Dutch paintings, but also all previous Dutch treatises on the art of painting were discussed (and criticized) by Houbraken. In his assessment of Philips Angel's enthusiasm for a painting of Lievens on David's infatuation for the married Bathsheba, Houbraken is critical of the way Lievens mixed the biblical material with secular allegory:

> But on this point our writer [Angel] makes the mistake of also applauding the addition of Cupid (which he calls *the world-stirring child*), painted in the sky, *with an arrow tipped with flames instead of a sharp point, and trailing a thin plume of smoke through which one sees his tender limbs sweetly flutter*. This may well be an emblematic representation of the fire of love kindled in the King's [David's] heart, but in a biblical context this is never appropriate.[10]

The painting Houbraken discussed is lost, so his words cannot be verified.[11] Even so, it is clear that biblical iconography was not to be mixed with its secular counterpart, according to French Classicists.

In general, biblical subjects became a far less popular subject for paintings toward the end of the seventeenth century not solely under the influence of French Classicist views, although they most certainly formed a restrictive factor in the Republic.[12] In contrast, biblical illustrations in collections of religious poems became more and more

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[9] Houbraken regularly quoted from Andries Pels' *Gebruik én misbruik des toneels*, intending to apply the rules for playwrights to the art of painting. See on Classisistic elements in Houbraken's work Cornelis 1995: 163–180.

[10] 'Maar hier in tast onze Schryver mis, als hy ook het byvoegzel, te weten een Kupido ('t welk hy noemt *het Waereldberoerend kind*) in de lugt van 't stuk gemaald, *met een vlammende pyl in steê van een gescherpte flits, in welkers dunne rook men de teere leden zoetelyk ziet wemelen*, pryst. Aangezien dit wel een zinnebeeldige beduiding van den ontsteken minnebrand in 's Konings hart aanduid, maar die in Bybelstof nooit te pas komt'. Houbraken 1976: 300–301.

[11] Coutré 2009: esp. 140.

[12] The French Classicists for instance banned religious subjects from Dutch theatre until 1760, as argued in de Vries 2009: esp. 321. The decline in the number of religious paintings is not widely researched, but one case study revealed: 'Im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts verdrängen in der Kabinettmalerei die Darstellungen säkularer Themen immer mehr die religiösen. Haben in den Delfter Inventaren zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts über ein Drittel aller Bilder (37 %) religiöse Themen, so sind es am Ende des Jahrhunderts nur noch knapp ein Sechstel (15 %).' Tümpel 2003: quotation on 219.

popular. In this literary genre, Protestants fully adopted religious images into their reading practices, inspired, perhaps, by the example in Bake's *Bybelsche gezangen* in 1685.[13] Even the Dutch Reformed identity was now bolstered by the religious image.

Picture Bibles for Children

Another significant visual enhancement of the Protestant identity was the introduction of emblematic imagery in picture Bibles for children. The new eighteenth-century products went far beyond the concept of the illustrated biblical stories printed for children during the seventeenth century, such as *De historie van den koninclijcken prophete David* mentioned in Chapter 3, but the possibilities were not unlimited, as testified by the disappearance of the Protestant picture Bible for children at the end of the eighteenth century.[14]

The advance of the picture Bible for children after 1725 was remarkable in both its scale of production and breadth of audience. Images even started to outnumber the texts, and became increasingly rebus-like in nature. Most of these Dutch picture Bibles for children were rooted in German editions, as in the case of *De kleine Print-Bybel* [Little Picture Bible], first printed in 1720 by the Amsterdam publisher Joannes Pauli and extremely popular after 1730.[15] The volume contained rebuses on a great number of biblical proverbs or sayings, and was modeled on the German *Courieuse, oder so-genannte Kleine Bilder-Bibel* [Curious, or So-Called Small Picture Bible] dating from 1704, which was in turn based on Melchior Mattsperger's *Geistliche Herzens-Einbildungen* [Spiritual Images for the Heart], published in Augsburg between 1687 and 1699. In the Dutch version, texts stemming from the States Bible were intertwined with little images from the emblematic tradition. 'Het Geloof' [Faith] was, for instance,

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[13] On Bake's eighteenth-century influence see Porteman and Smits-Veldt 2008: 835.

[14] *De historie van den koninclijcken prophete David* did profit from the popularity of the picture Bible for children in the eighteenth century. Only a few editions were produced in the seventeenth century, but between 1724 and 1800, eighteen new editions appeared. The eighteenth-century picture Bibles were mostly used in the home, as argued in Stilma 1987: 34 and van der Meiden 2009: 44.

[15] Reprints produced by various publishers were brought on the market in 1730, 1731, 1736, 1754, 1772, 1792 and 1793. See for a detailed overview of editions and reprints van der Meiden 2009: 53–60.

depicted as a woman carrying a book and a cross. In his preface to the Dutch edition, the minister Gerardus Puppius Hondius referred to the emblematic origins of these images.[16]

After 1730, images became an essential element in Dutch Bibles for children. Editions originally unillustrated were enlarged with images when the popularity of the genre became apparent,[17] and editions without illustrations never became bestsellers. The unillustrated Dutch translation of Johann Melchior's *Kinder-bybel* [Children's Bible] by Abraham van Poot, was published four times in the first half of the eighteenth century, but was not reprinted after 1750.[18] In contrast, a new and illustrated children's Bible, the *Historische kinder-bybel, of Schriftuurlyke lusthof* [Historical Children's Bible or Scriptural Pleasure Garden] became an instant success after 1745. Its publisher Jacobus Loveringh maintained that the images were added 'ter gemakkelyke bevatting voor de Jeugd' [to facilitate understanding by the youth].[19] Some older, existing editions such as Reyer Anslo's *Hondert vyf en vyftig bybelsche print verbeeldingen* were now advocated as especially useful for children. The publisher Jacob Graal maintained in this preface of the 1736 edition that he decided to reproduce this edition:

> to lead, as it were, each person by the hand to Holy Scripture, especially to draw young children away from vanity, to which most of them are inclined, and to hand them something which they can enjoy, and which will instill piety and the desire to search out the inscrutable wisdom of God.[20]

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[16] Zie Buijnsters 1989: 186.

[17] As in the case of *De historie, ende leere des bybels*, a Dutch translation of an English Bible for children by Eusebius Pagit, printed in 1640 by Evert Cloppenburgh in Amsterdam, without illustrations. The eighteenth-century reprints, dating from 1705 and 1742, made by Pieter Mortier in Amsterdam, were illustrated. The Dutch translation of Joannes Hubner's children's Bible, *Tweemaal twee en vyftig uytgeleezene bybelsche historien* [Two sets of fifty-two selected biblical stories], made by Coenraad Amman, also first appeared unillustrated (1716, 1735), but illustrations were added in 1736. See on international developments in this area Saint-Martin 2005.

[18] Melchior's original, the *Kinder-Bibel*, published in 1715, had also been unillustrated. A bibliography of Melchior's works is given in Trocha 2008: esp. 80–81.

[19] Another four reprints were published before 1798. Quoted is the preface to the 1777 edition.

[20] 'om een ieder als met de hand te lyden tot de Heilige Schriftuur, en voor al de Jonge Jeugt, die merendeels tot ydelheid genegen is, hierdoor af te trekken, en iets aan de hand te geven waar in zy haar zouden mogen verlustigen, en overgebragt werden tot eene Godzalige opmerkinge en naspeuring der ondoorgrondelyke Wysheid Gods'. Anslo 1736: fol. *3r–v.

In comparison to the previous seventeenth-century editions, the number of images had considerably increased. An engraving was inserted on every other page. They were all small in size but of high quality: the publisher apparently invested quite a sum to produce a fine specimen of the newly popular genre.

The inclusion of emblematic elements in these Bible illustrations for children was apparently not an issue which required discussion. The only minor controversy surrounding this use of religious imagery for children was sparked by an anonymous 'Iconophilus' [lover of images], in an article published in the journal *De philantrope of menschenvriend* [The Philanthropist or Friend of Humanity] in 1761. This essayist raised the question of standards for the selection of the depicted scenes: the incestuous and explicitly sexual story of Lot and his two daughters could, for instance, prove harmful for children, and was thus better not displayed.[21] This essayist was in fact heralding a new dawn for children's biblical literature: as the Enlightenment unfolded in the Republic, comprehension rather than memorization of the Bible was given priority, which resulted in a new interest in storytelling techniques. From the 1780s onward, the biblical texts were transformed into moral tales, told in simple language, with the purpose of helping the child to make moral and ethical decisions.[22]

The religious image was thus again related to an ideological issue, although the nature of this issue was quite different from what we have seen in previous chapters. We can conclude that the connection between word, image and religion, close as it seemed in Protestant circles by the end of the eighteenth century, could still not be taken for granted when circumstances changed.

Idiosyncratic-Protestant Forms of the Religious Emblem

Before the 1780s and 1790s brought these new developments, the ongoing expansion of Catholic visual practices in Protestant religious literature, and thus further annexation of the Catholic legacy by Protestants, manifested itself after 1725 in new emblematic subgenres that were even more idiosyncratically Protestant. Luyken's emblems with their undertone of mystical love were occasionally reprinted in

[21] Van der Coelen 1998: 284–285.

[22] See for an overview of the production Buijnsters and Buijnsters-Smets 1997. On this change in the children's Bibles see van der Meiden 2009: 86.

the second half of the eighteenth century, but they proved less successful than the innovative theological emblems written in the Cocceian tradition, biblical emblems, and the newly styled realistic emblems, which will be discussed in the next section. Together, these eighteenth-century volumes account for some of the most popular literature of that time: the rise of the Protestant religious emblem brought about a new blossoming of Dutch emblematics.[23] In fact, while the Dutch secular emblem had lost much of its attractiveness in the first half of the eighteenth century, the religious subgenre—a small production in the heyday of the Dutch secular emblem—gained a significant place in Dutch religious literature.[24]

This proliferation of the religious emblem could only occur because the imagery was accompanied by extensive textual material to explain the hidden meaning of seemingly realistic scenes and personifications, and because the religious instruction given in these texts was related to more general moralistic issues. Attempts were made to adapt the Catholic concept of the religious emblem to Protestant needs, which were shaped partly by theological innovations such as the rise of physico-theology and by the more rational approach of the Dutch Protestant Enlightenment, which fully accepted the compatibility of scientific research and the teaching of Scripture.[25]

Theological Emblems and Theological Emblematic Handbooks

It was no easy task to introduce imagery in the genre of the Protestant theological emblem, which d'Outrein had presented as a predominantly textual genre in 1700: the relatively close relation between this type of emblem and the Bible seems to have hampered developments, indicating that the Dutch Reformed in particular were still reluctant to allow far-reaching changes in their identity. A second treatise on the theological emblem, the *Diatribe de principiis et legibus theologiae*

[23] A rough estimate of the eighteenth-century production, based on Landwehr's bibliography *Emblem and fable books printed in the Low Countries 1542–1813 A bibliography. Third revised and augmented edition* (Landwehr 1988) reveals that between 1700 and 1750 almost as many new emblem books were published as in the period 1600–1650, the heyday of Dutch emblematics. After 1750, the production declined drastically, but from that moment on the Dutch book market in general fell into a downward spiral, as argued in de Kruif 1999: 177–179.

[24] See on the decline of the eighteenth-century emblem Stronks 2009b: 104–132.

[25] As argued in Kloek and Mijnhardt 2008: 171, Protestants were progressive in scholarship and knowledge, advocating a kind of logical reasoning.

emblematicae, allegoricae, typicae et propheticae […] by the Dutch Reformed minister and Cocceian theologian Antonius Driessen was published in 1717 without so much as an engraving on its title page.[26]

In the 1720s, Ripa-like images were added to Arnoldus Ruimig's *Verklaring van de voornaamste heilige en schriftuurlyke zinnebeelden* [Explanation of the Most Important Holy and Scriptural Emblems], and this type of imagery proved to be an acceptable visual addition to the theological emblem. In 1722, Ripa's *Iconologia* was adapted by the Dutch Reformed minister Peter Zaunslifer with the intention of making Ripa's personifications serve as a means to reveal the 'verborgenheden des geloofs' [hidden features (or mysteries) of the faith], just as God Himself had used 'zinnebeeldige vertogen' [emblematic elucidations] in the Bible.[27] Zaunslifer maintained that he selected all the fragments of the *Iconologia* relating to religion, hoping to convey their meaning and value to a large audience.[28] In one of the preliminary poems, the transfer of the secular to the religious is briefly discussed to convince the reader of its importance:

> Zaunslifer uses Ripa's words, but reveals God to us
> And portrays His wisdom and power,
> Which is manifest in everything on earth,
> And offers us lessons from the mouth of God.[29]

The selected personifications are all described in word and image. In the entry 'Geloove' [Faith] for instance, a faithful reproduction of Ripa's original image is accompanied by a text which begins as a repetition of Ripa's lines:

> *The heart with the burning candle in the left hand* reveals to us the illumination of our mind and heart, which comes about through faith and should radiate from the heart, expelling the darkness of unbelief and ignorance. This is why *Augustine maintained that ignorance is blindness, and faith illumination*.[30]

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[26] Ruimig's Cocceian approach was discussed in Ypeij and Dermout 1824: 367. See also Molhuysen, Blok and Kossmann 1918: volume 4, 525–527.

[27] Zaunslifer 1722: fol. **2v.

[28] Zaunslifer 1722: fol. **4r.

[29] 'Zaunslifer volgt die spraek, maar stelt ons Godt voor oogen/En beelt ons af zyn wijsheit en vermogen//Dat zich alom vertoont door al het aertsche rondt//En deelt ons lessen uit Godts mont'. Zaunslifer 1722: fol. ***1r.

[30] '*Het hart met de ontstooken kaers in de slinkerhant*, geeft te kennen, de verlichting des gemoets en het harte, die uit het geloove aenblikt, en die uit het harte moet doorstraelen, dus verdryvende de duisternisse des ongeloofs en de onweetenheit. Daerom zegt *Augustinus, dat het ongeloove is een blintheit, en het geloove een verlichting*'. Zaunslifer 1722: 22.

What follows is Zaunslifer's own selection of classical and biblical sources on the subject. His work could therefore be used as a handbook for those who wanted to create theological emblems.

A second volume with theological emblems was produced in 1722, the *Lexicon Hieroglyphicum Sacro-Profanum* [Lexicon of Sacred and Secular Emblems] by the Dutch Reformed minister Martinus Koning, and lavishly illustrated with images modeled on Ripa's example.[31] The title engraving seems the definitive proof that Voetius' hesitance with regard to religious emblematic imagery was overcome: a Christ figure points at a radiant *sol iustitiae*, an image Voetius explicitly condemned. In combination with the reference to Koning's profession as a Dutch Reformed minister, also engraved on this title page, the volume seems to represent the next step toward full acceptance of religious emblematic imagery by the Dutch Reformed.

It is, however, doubtful whether the genre was ever fully adopted by the majority of the Dutch Reformed. All authors mentioned here were outspoken or clandestine Cocceians, and the old controversy between Voetius and Coccejus still proved divisive, as demonstrated in the treatise *Institutiones Theologiae Typicae, Emblematicae et Propheticae*, written by the Cocceian theologican Johan van den Honert in 1730. The issue was again addressed by van den Honert in 1745 in his adaptation and reprint of Ruimig's *Verklaring van de voornaamste heilige en schriftuurlyke zinnebeelden*. This reprint was needed, van den Honert argues, because Ruimig's emblems had been very popular in the 1720s.[32] Also, he had found them extremely helpful in his own studies in his younger years, when he was confused by all the discrepancies found in Bible commentaries. He first decided to ignore the commentaries and simply read the Bible itself to find out 'what the Spirit is telling God's congregation'.[33] He continued reading like this for a long time, 'in order to uncover the true meaning of the Holy text to the best of my ability, and to explain the biblical examples and emblems contained in it […] in a literary and theological manner to make them applicable to religious practice in the sanctification of life'.[34] He

[31] Koning's approach is discussed in more detail in Schenkeveld 2003: 989–993.

[32] Van den Honert in his preface to Ruimig 1745: fol. ******3v–4r.

[33] 'wat de Geest tegen de Gemeente zegt'. Van den Honert in his preface to Ruimig 1745: fol. ****4r.

[34] 'om den waren zin der gesegden van den Heiligen text, naar myn vermogen, openteleggen, en het eigentlike der Voor- en Sinne-beelden […] die daarin voorkomen, Letterkundig en Theologisch te verklaren, en ter Geloovsoefeninge in Heiligheid des Levens toetepassen'. Van den Honert in his preface to Ruimig 1745: fol. *****3r.

meticulously kept all of his notes in 'Magasynen' [files].[35] Interpreting the biblical emblems proved difficult, he admitted; the help of Ruimig's *Verklaring van de voornaamste heilige en schriftuurlyke zinnebeelden* was thus much appreciated.[36] To convince the reader of the emblem's value, van den Honert not only reported these personal experiences, he also discussed the supposed opposition between Voetius and Coccejus, only to conclude that the two theologians in fact had no differences of opinion worth fighting about.[37] Despite this conciliatory effort, the disagreements among the Dutch Reformed about the acceptability of the allegorical way of reading the Bible seem to have hindered further development of the theological emblem.

Biblical Emblems

The related, but somewhat less controversial genre of the biblical emblem would become much more successful when it was enhanced with Ripa's imagery. The deepening of the Christian lifestyle rather than the enlargement of theological insights formed the focus of this genre, as revealed in Arnold Houbraken's and Gezine Brit's *Stichtelyke zinnebeelden* [Edifying Emblems] dating from 1723. In emblem four, Adam and Eve are portrayed united by a yoke from which balanced scales are suspended, with children positioned on each one. As Houbraken and Brit explained, the 'konst' [art, i.e. the iconographic tradition] brought forth this kind of representation of 'huwelykseendragt' [marital concord]. A similar image could indeed be found in, for instance, Vaenius' *Amorum Emblemata* of 1608, in an emblem with the motto 'Voor vrijheyt 't jock' [The Yoke instead of Freedom]. Vaenius gave only some marginal clues in his text about the connection between 'love', 'man and wife' and the yoke, while Houbraken and Brit explain every detail of the depicted scene, relating each one to the readers' behavior: they discuss the meaning of the balanced scales, the presence of the children, the clothes Adam and Eve are wearing, the touching of their feet (which represents the 'necessary equality in bearing the

[35] Ruimig 1745: fol. *****4v.

[36] 'om derselver eigenaartige en veelvuldige betekenissen nategaan; deselver onderscheid, samenvoeging, en onderschikking te beredeneren' [to check the specific and multiple meanings; and to reason out their differences, combinations, and ranking]. Ruimig 1745: fol. ******1r.

[37] Ruimig 1745: fol. *********4v.

burden of marriage') as well as the shoes on Eve's feet (which indicate that the marital path is sometimes covered with thorns).[38] The presence of death in this picture will be explained in the next image, Houbraken and Brit promise. For now, their conclusion is: 'On marriages well planned and orderly/The state and church can build prosperity'.[39]

In the same spirit, Govert Klinkhamer explained every aspect of the *picturae* and related to its social context in his *Leerzame zinnebeelden en bybelstoffen* [Edifying Emblems and Biblical Topics] dating from1740. Klinkhamer offered complex images—combinations of well-known personifications, scenes from daily life and Bible illustrations—with detailed commentary in the accompanying text. In emblem seven, the *pictura* shows the personification of 'Geloof' with numerous attributes, and, in the background, Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac:

Fig. 88 Govert Klinkhamer, *Stichtelyke zinnebeelden, en bybel-stoffen*. Amsterdam: Jacobus Hayman, 1740, 26.

[38] 'de noodwendige gelykdragtigheit in 't torschen van de Huwelykslasten af te schetzen'. Houbraken and Brit 1723: 14–16.

[39] 'Zo kan uit wel geregelt trouwen/De Staat en Kerk haar welstand bouwen.'. Houbraken and Brit 1723: 13.

All aspects of this image are not only described, but also interpreted, so as to ensure that no detail (such as the somewhat concealed book under Faith's elbow, or the goblet which replaces the usual candle) would go unnoticed and unexplained:

> Faith, guarding a book with holy reverence,
> Holds a goblet in her hand as a symbol of trust:
> The world, hell, and death are crushed by her power;
> Whoever believes in God's son, can build firmly and with assurance.[40]

The same lesson is taught by the scene in the background, Klinkhamer maintained. Together, the image and text convey the message that a world governed by Christian faith will prosper and thrive. In this particular form, which foregrounded civic morality rather than theological issues, the religious emblem was an acceptable aid in the religious instruction of a wide Protestant audience.

Realistic Protestant Emblems

The same holds true to an even greater extent for the newly developed realistic emblems. Here *realia*, already favored by seventeenth century emblematists such as Cats and Roemer Visscher, were again used, but this time—mainly by Anabaptist emblematists—to be clearly explained as representations of God's hidden intentions. The development of physico-theology, a movement that tried to reach conclusions about God's omnipotence, mercy, and providence from the study of nature, served as a stimulus for the development of this particular genre that proved to be even more appealing to Dutch Protestants than the biblical emblem.[41]

The acceptance of *realia* as representations of God's infinity brought with it a complication: if the visible world was to be seen and read as an allegory, the readers would be confronted with combinations of word and image of demonstrable complexity, a feature of Catholic emblematic imagery which had thus far not been wholeheartedly accepted by Dutch Protestants. Images presented as if they were divine revelations could also be perceived as means to portray God's invisible nature, another controversial issue among the Protestants.

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[40] 'Geloof, dat op een Boek met heilige aandacht let//Houdt in haar handt een Kelk ten teken van vertrouwen:/De waereldt, hel, en doodt, zyn door haar magt verplet// Wie in Godts Zoon gelooft kan vast en zeker bouwen'. Klinkhamer 1740: 26.

[41] The most prominent Dutch physico-theologians were J.F. Martinet and Bernard Nieuwentijt; see for more details on their theology van Asselt 1997: esp. 180–181. Also Jorink 1999: 97.

To avoid confrontations, the dangers of rendering religious instruction in such a manner were widely debated. In his *Leerzame zinnebeelden*, mentioned in the previous chapter, Graauwhart maintained that controversies among Egyptians surrounding the interpretation of hieroglyphs revealed that the Egyptians had only imagery at their disposal—Graauwhart perceives hieroglyphs as images, not as words—and that the beholders of these images were often puzzled by them, since images do not convey one univocal 'bevattinge' [meaning]. Poets and priests assisted the beholders vocally by adding their spoken words to the imagery in an attempt to explain their meaning.[42] The invention of the printing press made such compact but cryptic imagery redundant: the knowledge contained in the visual riddles could now be conveyed to a large audience by textual means. Cryptic imagery retained its charm, however, because its brevity 'tickles the mind', according to Graauwhart.[43]

In combination with a religious disposition, such compact visual messages required careful exegesis, as explained in Graauwhart's first, programmatic emblem. There a sphinx, seated on a pile of human bones and skulls, is shown conversing with a man:

Fig. 89 Hendrik Graauwhart, *Leerzame zinnebeelden, bestaande in christelyke Bedenkingen door vergelykinge eeniger schepselen als dieren, vogels, gewassen, & c. strekkende tot zedelessen ter deugd, en aanmoediging tot godzalighheid. In vaarzen en uitbreidingen te zamen gesteld. Verciert met 110 konstige afbeeldsels.* Amsterdam, 1704, 1.

[42] Graauwhart 1704: fol. *7v.
[43] 'den Geest kitteld'. Graauwhart 1794: fol. *8v.

The meaning of this *pictura* is explained in the accompanying poem.[44] The human remains were of people who proved incapable of solving the riddle presented by the sphinx, as told in the ancient myth of Oedipus. The classical image now serves as an example for all Christian readers: their fate will be similar to those eaten by the sphinx if they do not draw divine wisdom from the visible world. Graauwhart's approach becomes apparent in this first emblem: the meaning of each image is firmly fixed in the accompanying text to overcome the problem of possible misinterpretation.

In these realistic religious emblems, the cryptic nature of the imagery was not always signaled by the presence of recognizable emblematic elements. In Adriaan Spinniker's emblems, for instance, seemingly realistic images would not strike the viewer as cryptic, but they still need to be viewed as puzzles, as Spinniker explains in the lengthy texts which accompany the images. In emblem twenty of his second collection of religious emblems, *Het vervolg der leerzame zinnebeelden* [Sequel to the Edifying Emblems], the *pictura* shows a painter at work.

A number of portraits hanging on the wall of the artist's workplace are waiting to be cleaned and touched up, as indicated by three biblical quotations underneath the image: 'so God created man in his own image' (Genesis 1:27), and 'He will be a Father unto you' (2 Cor. 6:18), and 'let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit' (2 Cor. 7:1). The relation between the image and these quotations is explained in the accompanying poem. The literal meaning of the *pictura* is first discussed: a painting, however skilfully made, is still in need of some maintenance in order to stay clean and fresh. And who better to trust with this task than its creator: the painter who knows how 'de eene verwe de and're brak' [one color was mixed with another], as well as the intended colour scheme and perspective.[45] Step by step the figurative meaning is deciphered:

> That's how it is done here [the cleaning of paintings].
> And so it is with something of a similar nature,

[44] The myth of the sphinx had been brought to bear on Christian theology in a similar image on the title page of a Dutch translation of a seventeenth-century German religious treatise by Heidfeldius, see Heidfeldius 1627.

[45] 'de eene verwe de and're brak'. Spinniker 1758: 83.

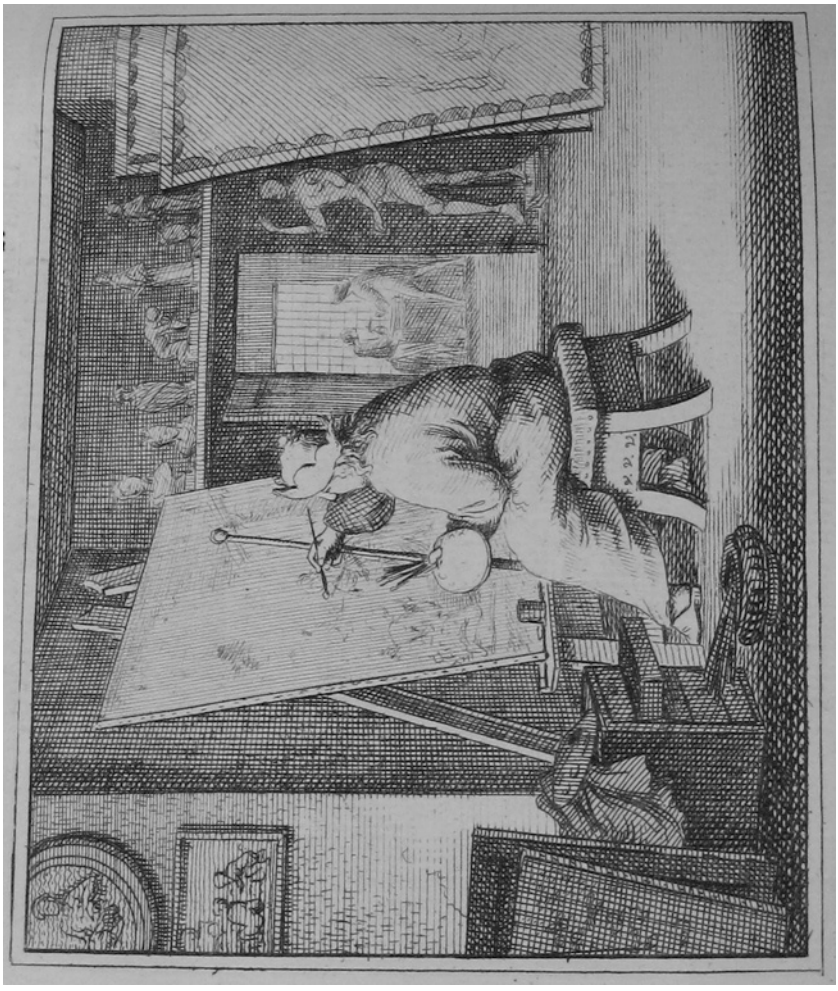

Fig. 90 Adriaan Spinniker, *Vervolg der leerzaame zinnebeelden*. Haarlem: Jan Bosch, 1758, 83.

> Which is, however, of much greater weight
> Than any painting, however valuable.[46]

Since God has created man in his own image, every human being should be perceived as 'a God on earth//A beautiful sketch and living mark/Of the prime cause of his creation'.[47] The painting which we refer to as 'human being', Spinniker continues, has unfortunately acquired stains. 'Who is responsible for this damage?' is the question he then poses to the reader.[48] The answer is: the human being himself/herself. How to solve this problem is Spinniker's next question. Many seek a solution, but only God can fully accomplish what is needed. Spinniker again addresses the reader directly, to make sure the comparison with the painter and the painting is not misunderstood:

> But since it is in the nature of paintings
> To submit to the hand and work of the master quietly,
> But also without awareness,
> There is a major difference here.[49]

Unlike paintings, which are passive and unaware of the artist's efforts, human beings have to become actively involved in God's cleansing work. This lesson—clearly not an expression of the Calvinistic view on the issue of free will but of Spinniker's Anabaptist convictions—is again underlined in the prose explanations given to each emblem in the last section of *Het vervolg de leerzame zinnebeelden*.

To Dutch Protestants such as Spinniker, the emblem could become a visual aid in religious instruction on the condition that all confusion inevitably resulting from the use of imagery be eliminated by giving the one and only acceptable interpretation of the image in the texts, which very often derived from the Bible itself. The cryptic nature of the emblem, which was considered to be its finest quality in a volume like Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* of 1614, was reduced to nil at the end of the eighteenth century to make it suitable for the religious purposes

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[46] 'Zo gaat het hier. Zo is 't gelegen/Met iets van dergelyken aard//Doch dat veel zwaarder is te weegen//Dan eenig tafereel, hoe waard'. Spinniker 1758: 84.

[47] 'een God op aarde//Een' schoone schets en leevend merk/Van de opperoorzaak, die hem baarde'. Spinniker 1758: 84.

[48] 'Wie boet dit deerlijk ongeval?'. Spinniker 1758: 84.

[49] 'Doch daar in 't aard de schilderyen//Des meesters hand en werkzaamheid/Wel stil, maar zonder kennis ly'en//Is hier een machtig onderscheid'. Spinniker 1758: 85.

of Dutch Protestants. Under these conditions an asset which was once part of the Catholic identity could be appropriated by the Protestants.

Religious Emblems for Children

Once the religious emblem had developed into an instructive rather than a cryptic instrument, it was also considered a suitable aid in the religious instruction of the Protestant youth. At the same time that the Bible illustration was replaced by the moral tale in the production of Bibles for children, the religious emblem for the young gained popularity in the Republic. The advance of the emblematic image for children was, however, not unlimited or undisputed, again revealing the presence of persistent restraints.

The enormous popularity of Hieronymus van Alphen's realistic and moralistic *Proeve van kleine gedigten voor kinderen* [Sampler of Short poems for Children], a collection of poems which was first published in 1778, and illustrated by Jacobus Buijs in later editions dating from the 1780s, served as a kind of catalyst for the development of Protestant religious emblems for children.[50] Also in this particular area, the Catholic legacy was completely annexed by the Protestants, as shown by the publication of Lieve van Offelen's *Uitmuntende verzaameling, van fabelen en vertelselen, zinnebeelden, gedichtjes voor kinderen, lessen enz.* [Extraordinary collection of fables and stories, emblems, poems for children, lessons etc.] published in 1780. Van Ollefen used a selection of the *picturae* made for Hugo's *Pia Desideria* to create a collection of emblems which was to rival van Alphen's *Proeve van kleine gedigten voor kinderen*. Van Ollefen and his publisher Elwe changed some details of the original copperplates last used in 1713 for a reprint of Serrarius' *Goddelycke aandachten* to accommodate the needs of children, and for the same reason avoided the re-use of, for instance, Hugo's *pictura* with the skeleton.

[50] The images added in later editions of van Alphen's *Proeve van kleine gedigten voor kinderen* were partly emblematic in nature: some of these images served as mere illustrations of the stories told in van Alphen's poems—preluding the rise of the illustrated children's book in the nineteenth century—while other images added a cryptic, visual dimension to van Alphen's text (as in the case of 'De verwelke roos' [The withered rose]).

Most of the religious details (such as the halo and the *amor divinus* figure) were removed for the occasion, but the wings and halo are still part of the illustration on van Ollefen's title page; apparently not every trace of its religious background needed to be wiped out to make the *Pia Desideria* imagery suitable for Protestant children and for van Ollefen's educational purposes. While van Alphen restricted himself to general virtues and daily experiences of a child, although with an undertone of enlightened religion, van Ollefen also paid attention to specifically religious themes such as God's mercy and eternal life as rewards for virtuous behavior. Compared to the religious emblem tradition, *Uitmuntende verzaameling* presents a less affective, but more rational and practical religious experience, one which could not have been further removed from Hugo's emotional and mystical approach.[51] Van Ollefen, who was one of the first Dutch professional writers, apparently assumed that the wide Protestant audience he hoped to find for his *Uitmuntende verzaameling* would enjoy this re-use of a Catholic tradition which was not supposed to betray any dangerous Catholic influence.

In another Protestant religious emblem book of that period, *Kinderpligt en zinnebeelden* [A Child's Duty and Emblems], written by Johannes Hazeu and published in 1789, the limitations of the genre become apparent. Hazeu's volume was divided into two parts, the first of which is illustrated, while the second is not. In the first, illustrated series, the Christian duties of a child are treated in little poems about all the things children do each day: waking up, washing, greeting parents in the morning, eating breakfast, getting dressed, singing a morning song, etc. These poems are accompanied by images in which the described activity is often placed against the background of nature. A little boy washing his hands in a fountain, for instance, is told that Jesus' blood can wash his sins away just as the water in the fountain rinses off his dirt:

[51] See for a more detailed comparison Dietz 2009.

Fig. 91 Johannes Hazeu, *Kinder-pligt en zinnebeelden*. Amsterdam: Willem van Vliet, 1789, facing 11.

Washing

How refreshing it is, in the morning hour
To wash oneself with water!
In brooks or ponds
Feathered creatures learn from nature,
That they should always strive for cleanliness
As soon as they see dawn appearing
Out of dusky night;
The duckling dives and comes up wet;
Every bird is gently splashed
With dewdrops from the trees.
Sleep, that makes each creature sluggish,
Is driven away by washing,
And all who are eager to undertake their tasks
Then do so with great pleasure.
If only I could see my soul's impurity
Which I can never wash away;
Ah! That I might strive to flee from wickedness
And in the pools of Jesus' all-forgiving blood
(O great and invaluable good!)
Be cleansed of my guilt![52]

The second series treats some central religious issues and concepts. The lessons in this series, although based on images derived from religious iconography, have no accompanying images. In the preface to this series, Hazeu explains that the number of illustrations was limited in order to make the book affordable for all:

> It is true, one could have added an image to every emblem, but if one does not want to lose sight of the benefit for the general public, we are obliged to ensure that our fellow human beings who are less well-off will not be deterred from purchasing edifying works of this kind because of the high cost; for this reason I have described these emblems and subjects in such a way that every child can use his or her imagination to envision the image while reading the text.[53]

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[52] 'Het Wasschen/Wat is het frisch, in 't morgen uur/Met water zich te wasschen!/Het Pluimgedierte' leert door Natuur//In beek of water-plassen//Dat het gestaâg naar reinheid tracht//Zoo ras het, uit de vaale nacht//Den dageraard ziet komen;/Het eendjen maakt zich, duikend nat;/Elk Volgeltjen word mild bespat/Door daauwdrup van de boomen./De slaap, die ieder vadzig maakt//Wordt wasschend, weg gedreeven;/En elk, die naar den arbeid haakt//Daar door weêr lust gegeeven.//Mogt ik mijn zielsönreinheid zien//Die 'k nimmer af kan wasschen;/Ach! Trachte ik de ondeugd meêr te ontvliên:/En wierd ik in de plassen/Van Jezus alverzoenend bloed//(o Groot en onwaardeerbaar goed!)/Van mijne schuld gewasschen!'. Hazeu 1789: 10–12.

[53] ''t is waar: men zou, voor ieder Zinnebeeld, ook een Plaatje hebben kunnen toevoegen; maar als men het Algemeene Nut niet uit het oog wil verliezen, zijn wij

Consequently, every emblem starts with a textual description of the intended image. In the case of 'Geloof' [Faith], Hazeu wrote:

> The most exquisite emblem we can envision is that of Faith, which is depicted for us as a virgin kneeling down in front of a Bible, which shows us that she acknowledges the truths contained in this book as divine; […] having a flame on her head, as a sign of the radiant fervor with which she can influence others, lighting the way for them in the darkness of their ignorance;—carrying a cross in her one hand, as evidence that the crucifixion of our Savior Jesus is of utmost importance to her; and in her other hand carrying a palm branch, as a sign of victory and peace.[54]

Hazeu's decision to illustrate only the section on children's Christian virtues and vices, and not the series dealing with biblical and even theological issues, was not, perhaps, entirely arbitrary, which raises the question of whether financial considerations were indeed the deciding factor.

Hazeu's choice seems to have been related to a widely felt sense of caution: theological issues concerning the use of religious imagery which had been controversial in the past were carefully avoided in these Protestant religious emblem books for children. Of these issues, the invisibility of God was most prominent. In the physico-theological context, children had to be taught that God's Presence is invisible for human beings. In the 'Naberigt' [Epilogue] to his *Onderwijs voor kinderen* [Instruction for Children] dating from 1782, Willem Emmery de Perponcher explicitly told parents what to do when children posed questions on the 'aanweezen' [existence] of God. His first advice was to read a specific dialogue in his *Onderwijs voor kinderen*, in which a child is told by his mother that only the human soul is capable of

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verpligt zorg te draagen, dat ook onze minvermogende Natuurgenooten, door eene al te groote kostbaarheid, niet worden afgeschrikt, om zich soortgelijke zedenkweekende Werkjens, eigen te maaken;—daarom heb ik de Zinnebeelden of Onderwerpen, zoo geschetst, dat ieder Kind, in zijne verbeelding, de tekening, onder het leezen, zal kunnen opmaken'. Hazeu 1789: iv–v.

[54] 'Het voortreffelijkste Zinnebeeld, dat wij ons immer voor den geest kunnen brengen, is 't Geloof, welke ons […] als eene Maagd word afgebeeld,—die, in eene biddende houding, voor den Bijbel legt neder geknield, 't welk te kennen geeft: dat zij de Waarheden in dat Boek vervat, voor Goddelijk erkend; […] hebbende eene vlam op het hoofd, als een teken van haar' blakende ijver, waar mede zij anderen door haar invloed, in de duisternissen, kan voorlichten;—dragende in heur eene hand, een Kruis, ten bewijze dat zij haar grootste belang steld, in den Kruis-dood van onzen Zaligmaker Jezus;—en in heur andere hand, draagt zij een' Palm-tak, als het teken der Overwinning en des Vredes'. Hazeu 1789: 145–146.

gaining knowledge about God.[55] The parent can then take the next step: 'After reading the dialogue to the child, and, after having explained its meaning in accordance with the intellectual level of the child, one can occasionally point out various things that God has made for us, and especially those things from which the child can most easily see and understand God's great mercy and love for human beings'.[56] This would lead children to a better understanding of the issue, but parents nevertheless needed to be on their guard, timing their interventions with care: 'I have to repeat: one will make a better and more lasting impression on children if one does not rush ahead too quickly with these lessons. This conversation should therefore not take place unless circumstances appear to demand it.'[57] The human ability to understand the divine is after all limited, even with the help of the visible nature.

It can be concluded that the Protestant religious emblem as it developed in the second half of the eighteenth century, whether intended for Protestant adults or children, and whether produced by Dutch Reformed or Anabaptists, did not have confessional or theological issues as its focus. In a volume made by Johan Pieter Broeckhoff, titled *Dicht- en zedekundige zinnebeelden en bespiegelingen* [Poetic and Moral Emblems and Reflections], the religious emblems are advocated as 'mirrors, in which everyone can observe his or her own duties', and this appears to have been the watchword for the further development of the genre.[58] The experience of reading these religious emblems was rationalized, as they became instruments of social instruction for a large readership. Another feature of Broeckhoff's *Dicht- en zedekundige zinnebeelden en bespiegelingen* was also generic. In his preface to the emblems, Broeckhoff introduces himself simply as 'een Kristen' [a Christian], even though he seems to be rooted in the Dutch Reformed tradition—judging by the number of times he quotes authorities like

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[55] De Perponcher 1782: 310.

[56] 'Na dat men dit gesprekje aan 't kind zal hebben voorgeleezen, en, naar de vatbaarheid zyner jaaren, zoo veel mooglyk uitgelegd, kan men hem, van tyd tot tyd, verscheidene dingen aanwyzen, die God voor ons gemaakt heeft; en vooral die geenen, uit dewelken men hem gemaklykst Gods groote goedheid en liefde, voor de menschen, kan doen zien en bevatten'. De Perponcher 1782: 428–429.

[57] 'ik moet het herhaalen; men zal een veel beeter en sterker indruk, op de kinderen, maaken, indien men den loop van dit onderwys niet behoeft voor uit te streeven. Weshalven men dit gesprekje niet gebruiken moet, dan wanneer de omstandigheeden het noodzaaklyk maaken'. De Perponcher 1782: 428–429.

[58] Broeckhoff 1770: fol. *2r.

Calvin and Cats. In spite of confessional differences, religious toleration ought to be one of the main virtues of our present-day society, Broekhoff maintains:

> The religion that you love and honor,
> That guides on us on the road of life. […]
> Is never supported by oppression
> But demands that each person practice it
> Freely, voluntarily, without coercion.
> God wants our heart, not just our mouth,
> Force may perhaps, by inflicting pain, drag words from a throat.
> But when you build your teachings on conviction
> You will bring forth a more noble religion.[59]

The Protestant Dutch enlightenment was a moderate movement, in which religion and reason were carefully balanced and connected: the issue of word, image and religion was dealt with in a sensible, modern manner, as all potentially controversial theological issues were avoided.[60] A wide and interconfessional Protestant audience was now given moralistic religious instruction with the aid of visual tools annexed from the Catholics.

The Catholic Production

The appropriation and even annexation of the Catholic legacy by Dutch Protestants took place against the backdrop of the ongoing emancipation of the Dutch Catholics.[61] From 1725 onward, Dutch Catholics were producing their own religious literature, which had been previously published in the Southern Netherlands, in the Republic itself: in 1738 the first Dutch illustrated edition of Makeblijde's *Den schat*

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[59] 'De Godsdienst, dien gy mint en eert//Die ons den weg des Levens leert./(…)/ Wierd nooit geschraagd door Dwinglandy:/maar eischt dat elk, gewillig, vry//En zonder dwang dien zal verrichten./God wil het hart, niet slechts den mond//'t Geweld mag ligt door pyn een woord ten halze uittrekken./Gy zult, terwyl ge uw leer op overtuiging grondt//Een eedler dienst verwekken.' Broeckhoff 1770: fol. *2r.

[60] On the modernity of the Dutch Enlightenment and its reflection in Dutch literature see de Vries 2009: 293–369, esp. 346; and for its influence on sermons and sermon books Ihalainen 2009: 219–60, esp. 249. On the spread of toleration during the eighteenth century van Eijnatten 1998.

[61] Contrary to the ideas expressed in Kloek and Mijnhardt 2008: 171, that the attitude toward Catholics hardened as Protestants fostered a progressive approach to scholarship and science, while the Catholic church cherished ignorance and opposed the kind of logical reasoning advocated by Enlightened Protestants.

der gebeden [Treasury of Prayers] appeared, and was reprinted seven times between 1738 and 1800. Southern Netherlandish works that had never been openly published in the Republic—such as reprints of the Jesuit priest Poirters' emblematic oeuvre, published between 1750 and 1800—now also appeared on the market as products of Dutch printers.[62]

Also, more and more of the sparsely illustrated seventeenth-century Catholic prayer books, church books and catechisms were published in the Republic from the 1770s onward: *De godsvruchtige leidsman* [The God-fearing Guide] was produced by Theodorus Crajenschot in 1783 in Amsterdam, *Het open paradys* [The Open Paradise] by Joannes van Gulpen in Maastricht in 1770, *Weg des hemels* [Way to Heaven] by Cornelis Stichter in 1786, *Het geestelyk paradys* by Cornelis Stichter in 1774, to name but a few.[63] The most productive Catholic publishers were members of the Stichter family, who almost monopolized the Dutch market, and had hardly any connection with the Southern Netherlands.[64]

The public profiling of a Dutch Catholic identity was at hand, independent of the Protestant annexation of what was formerly the Catholics' domain, the religious emblem. The Dutch Catholics created their own niches in the market, sharing in the Protestant appreciation of visual religious instruments, but articulating this appreciation in their own idiosyncratic genres.

Religious Toleration and Religious Identities

Denominations outside the Dutch Reformed church were increasingly contributing to a more widely shared, united Protestant identity, which was still to a large extent determined by Dutch Reformed ideas and restraints, but was nevertheless hybrid and open-minded enough to absorb features of other Protestant denominations such as the Anabaptists.

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[62] Many more publications could be listed here (see for instance also reprints of Stalpart van der Wielen's oeuvre), as evidence that the role of the Catholics in the religious reading culture was much more active than is sometimes assumed, as also argued for the English situation in Walsham 2003: 141–166.

[63] Clemens 2006: 55–63 and Clemens 1988.

[64] Clemens 1992: 85–95, esp. 89.

For the first time in the history of the Republic, Catholics were producing their religious works, which in the seventeenth century had been associated with the Southern Netherlandish market, in the Republic, an indication that Dutch Catholics would no longer allow Dutch Protestant norms to dictate expressions of their own identity.

EPILOGUE

A close look at the religious literature published in the Republic—works straddling the border between the public and private spheres—reveals how patterns of social behavior changed in the course of the seventeenth century. Polemics dominated in the first half of the century, with many more or less official statements condemning the Catholic use of images, and with restraints imposed on literary practices. This resulted in a climate which tolerated the existence of dissenting views, but did not encourage dialogue between them. As the century progressed, this toleration increasingly acquired the form of sharing. The foundation of a shared Protestant and Catholic tradition was subsequently used by the Protestants in the eighteenth century to construct a new, enlightened Christian identity, which bore clear traces of the Catholic heritage. Parallel to this development, Dutch Catholics in the eighteenth century found ways to profile an identity which no longer grew out of a compromise with the dominant Protestant presence, but was rooted in their own traditions.

That this is not the end of the story becomes clear from the following example. When in the nineteenth century a new controversy split the Reformed Church into an orthodox and more liberal faction, resulting in what is known as the *Afscheiding* [Schism], the picture Bible once again became the target of virulent attacks. At a moment when literacy was increasing and more and more Bibles were being sold to Protestants through the Dutch Bible Society, founded in 1814, and through organizations that marketed Bibles door to door, picture Bibles, which had long been accepted by Protestants, became a hotly contested issue.[1] At the height of the controversy, an elder of the orthodox (*gereformeerde*) faction, Frederik Kon, wrote that he used the picture Bibles of the more liberal (*hervormde*) minister and school superintendent Reddingius to light his stove, because such works 'have a ruinous effect on human souls'. This Protestant opposition seems to be related to the increasing assertiveness of the Catholics in the Netherlands: during the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church in

[1] Molendijk 2003.

the Netherlands grew from a marginalized but tolerated minority into a powerful organization that challenged Dutch society, particularly its Protestant contingent.[2]

The series of events reconstructed in this book demonstrates that the combination of word, image and religion was, in various degrees at various times, controversial in the Republic. Related issues are waiting to be addressed, however: since the Dutch reluctance to illustrate religious texts crossed confessional lines in the early stages of the seventeenth century, does the case of illustrated religious literature suggest a common Dutch religious identity which came to expression in cultural representations shared by all denominations? Does it perhaps reveal an early stage in the development of an imagined community at a national level—contrary to the common notion that 'nations' were not formed in Northern Europe before the end of the eighteenth century?[3]

A second issue waiting to be addressed is the question of whether the literary constellations analyzed in this book reflect a broader cultural and even political trend. To resolve this issue, the results of this investigation into the literary culture of the Republic need to be assessed by art historians, theologians and historians. Is the Dutch reluctance to develop a national tradition in religious emblematics related to a more generally unfavorable attitude toward the spiritual 'reading' of images, and paintings? If so, does this feature of Dutch religious literature support the idea that Dutch visual arts of the seventeenth century should not be solely viewed as allegorical representations of reality?[4] Likewise, the outcome of this book's investigation should be confronted with debates among theologians. The more restricted view on the use of religious imagery—vocalized by Voetius, but dominant even before that—was not just a feature of the Dutch Reformed identity, but extended to other denominations as well. What are the implications of this shared restraint?

A third issue arises when the major shift in the Republic's culture is viewed from an international perspective, for it then becomes appar-

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[2] Sengers 2004: esp. 131.

[3] See Anderson 1991.

[4] In line with Sluijter's suggestion (Sluijter 1988: 16) that the iconological approach to Dutch art of the seventeenth century should not be the dominating one, for it is not supported by contemporary evidence: treatises on the function and meaning of the visual arts by seventeenth-century Dutch artists do not emphasize this particular way of interpreting Dutch art.

ent that the acceptance of allegorical religious imagery by the Dutch Protestants—which came about in the 1680s—was advanced by the attempts of a number of individual authors and publishers who, from 1630 onward, rebelled against domestic literary and religious traditions. They set about negotiating and reshaping existing Dutch literary practices by introducing translations and adaptations of Catholic models—often produced by Protestants (in Germany, England)—into the Republic. Heyns, Hulsius, Möller: they were all inspired by foreign examples and found little acceptance in their own country.

The next thesis waiting to be challenged is that the climate of religious toleration with respect to literary practices in the Republic could not have developed without that influence from the surrounding countries. During most of the seventeenth century, religious literature produced in the Republic contained far fewer illustrations than literature produced in the neighboring countries. In a country known for its religious toleration, restrictive mechanisms prevailed, especially in the application of allegorical, emblematic imagery, while in countries such as the Southern Netherlands, England, France and Germany, religious emblematics were thriving. Why did a country known for its religious toleration not develop such forms of cultural hybridity on its own authority and initiative? The Republic's culture has recently often been cited as an ideal setting for the development of cultural hybridity, a quality seen as a prerequisite for a harmonious and flourishing society since it helps to resolve conflicts by facilitating intercultural and interconfessional dialogue and practices.[5] Why was the intermingling of textual and visual practices unexpectedly complicated in the Republic, where Catholics and Protestants coexisted and interrelated in relative freedom compared to neighboring countries, whose restrictive mechanisms such as censorship and legislation were more impedimental?[6]

[5] Nederveen Pieterse 2008; DeWulf 2009; Burke 2009: 74–75. See for a discussion of the use of the term 'cultural hybridity' del Mar Rosa-Rodriguez 2010.

[6] See for a preliminary exploration of this problem Stronks and Both 2010.

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